

Terrorism:
The ties
that blind

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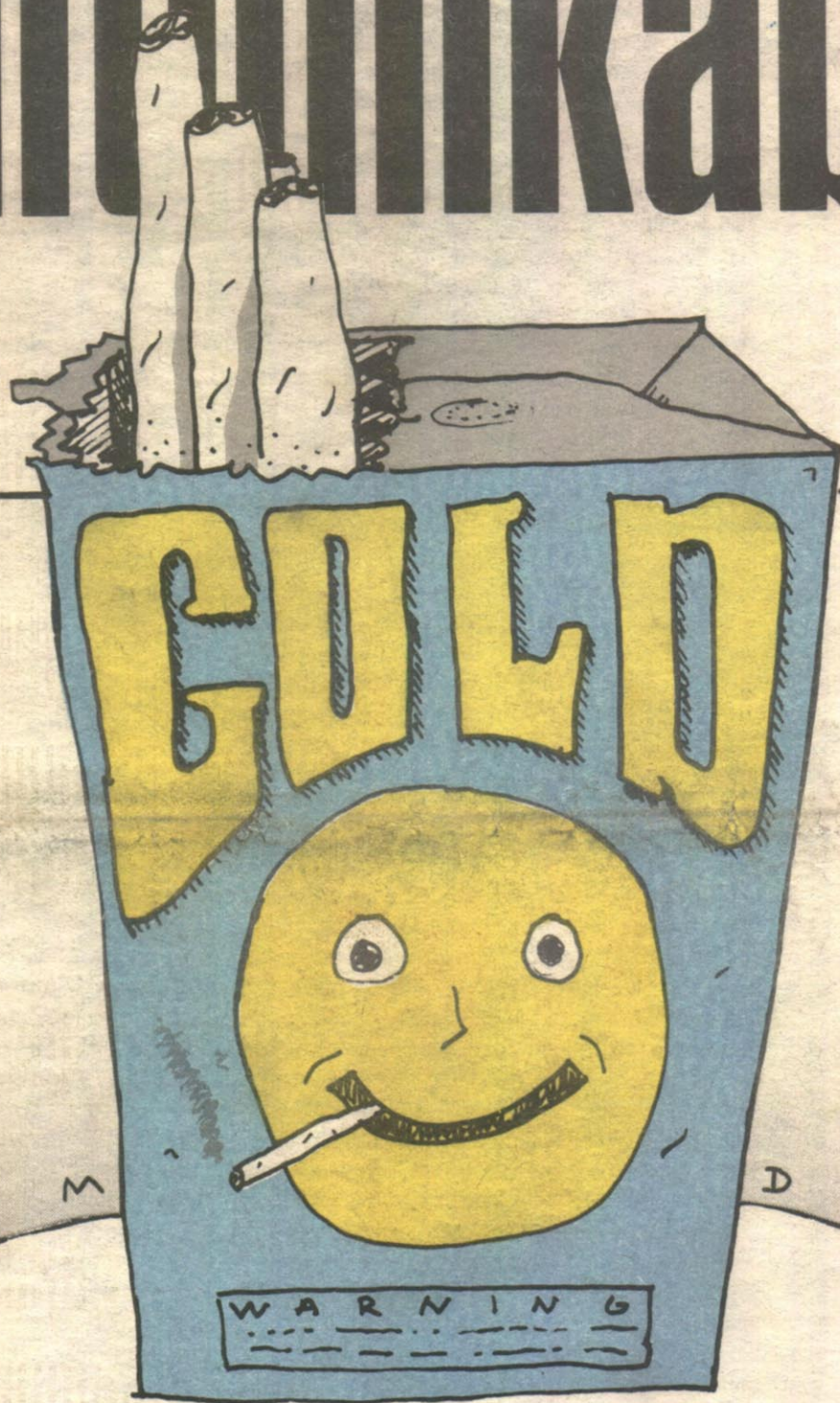
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THE Unthinkable



Is legalization the answer to the drug problem?

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How toxic pollution can break down racial barriers

By Zack Nauth

BATON ROUGE, LA.

Darryl Malek-Wiley was thinking about an old problem that has paralyzed the South, and a relatively new problem that could destroy it. The old problem is racial prejudice; the new problem is environmental pollution. And Malek-Wiley was seeing signs that both of them could be overcome simultaneously.

Malek-Wiley, a Sierra Club organizer, had just finished the first day of The Great Louisiana Toxics March, a 10-day trek from Baton Rouge to New Orleans last month aimed at publicizing the carcinogenic transgressions of industry in Louisiana's "Toxic Corridor." In planning the march, organizers like Malek-Wiley had been all too aware that racial prejudice has long kept blacks and whites from working together to fight polluting industries—and that companies and their political intermediaries have not hesitated to use those feelings of mistrust to protect themselves. So organizers had adopted a consciously inter-racial strategy for the march—a strategy that could have impact in many other communities across the country that suffer the dual crises of racial tension and environmental pollution.

Now Malek-Wiley was starting to see that strategy pay off. "Those guys on the other side of the fence are scared," he said. "They see white people and black people working together. Things are changing in Louisiana."

Ripe for the picketing: South Louisiana is perhaps the ripest and most neglected target in the country for environmental activism. Louisiana produces one-fourth of the nation's chemicals and much of its oil; a Greenpeace study of 38 of the 75 plants along the Mississippi River showed discharges of 400 million pounds of chemicals into the air, water and land, of which 16 million pounds are known or suspected carcinogens; 350 facilities discharge into the river that provides drinking water for 1.5 million people; the landscape is dotted with hundreds of toxic-waste sites and thousands of oilfield waste pits; and the state is second in the nation in the number of hazardous injection wells.

Correspondingly, the state has one of the highest cancer rates in the country—as well as hotspots such as St. Gabriel, where a high number of women have miscarried while living in and around a huge industrial complex; Morgan City, where several children have contracted

neuroblastoma cancer in the shadow of a so-called hazardous waste "recycler," Marine Shale Processors (see *In These Times*, Oct. 5); and New Orleans, where black men are more likely to have lung cancer than anywhere else in the world.

The Great Louisiana Toxics March endeavored to publicize these facts and make public the airborne carcinogens, river discharge pipes, underground hazardous waste, injection wells and other hidden sources of contaminants that for so long have proliferated under the what-you-don't-know-can't-hurt-you doctrine. Using data obtained under the new federal right-to-know laws, as well as in state and independent investigations, the marchers traveled 100 miles by foot and car from Baton Rouge to New Orleans, stopping at many of the plants and toxic trouble spots to hold press conferences. At the same time, Greenpeace activists, using their ship *Beluga* as a base in the river, hung protest banners from bridges and buildings, and tried to plug several industrial discharge pipes.

The number of participants was small, but as one organizer said to another as they walked down ill-named Scenic Highway in Baton Rouge, the 100 or so marchers constituted a good turnout for the long-dormant environmental movement in Louisiana. The march was a biracial coalition of environmental, church, labor and tenant groups and even mainstream politicians, sponsored by groups such as Greenpeace, the Sierra Club and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers of America. The small but representative turnout, that fluctuated between 50 and 200 people, included two brothers who had been injured on the job at a hazardous waste cleanup site; neighbors who saw the pristine swamp around the site contaminated; mothers and their children who had been gassed by fumes from plants, dumps and incinerators; and plant workers who had been sent home sick after breathing fumes. They marched, told their horror stories and passed out information to an enthusiastic press as the TV cameras rolled and reporters took notes. "This is not a march of big names, but a march of little people asserting themselves," said Pat Bryant, head of the Gulf Coast Tenants Association.

Victims of poverty, prejudice and pollution: An important component of this new environmental coalition is black people, in whose neighborhoods undesirable industries are often located, as evidenced by the plants sandwiched between impoverished Creole communities along the river. Land is cheaper in these neighborhoods, and large corporations know that the people in these ramshackle homes don't have the resources or connections that those living in wealthy white suburban neighborhoods would have to quickly stop unhealthy discharges. The residents are caught in a bind—they cannot afford to move out, yet because of high unemployment are forced to take low-paying, dangerous jobs in the plants, where their exposure to chemicals is doubled.

The Baton Rouge end of the march included black and white families who have been repeatedly exposed to toxic emissions from the Rollins Environmental Services, a hazardous-waste incinerator in a small town just outside the city limits. The timing is significant because Rollins is asking the state for a permit to fire up another incinerator. The residents, with the help of two local state legislators, are fighting it, saying the company hasn't shown it can run the first incinerator responsibly and safely.

Another group of participants were blacks and whites living and working near the Petro Processors site, a toxic hellhole that is high on the Superfund list, yet has languished nonetheless. Its victims included low-paid black workers hired under the Superfund cleanup plan to wade through the toxic muck, and residents and union members at surrounding plants, who saw 500 acres of the pristine Devil's Swamp spoiled and who got sick when the cleanup operations caused nasty chemical reactions.

Not only is there a new coalition emerging that includes blacks, there are politicians, often black, for whom the environment is not only a concern, but a powerful political issue in their districts. Democratic State Rep. Melvin "Kip" Holden of Baton Rouge defeated a black pork-and-patronage incumbent partly on the strength of his outspoken stand and partial success in exposing Rollins and

bringing it under tighter security. Holden's predecessor had been reaping the benefits of an association with the past governor, and both looked the other way while Rollins polluted the neighborhood.

Both Holden and Democratic State Sen. Cleo Fields, the youngest in the nation at 26, participated in the march. The two freshmen lawmakers have so far shown themselves independent of the intense efforts by industry lobbyists to co-opt them with campaign contributions, free dinners, peer pressure and other tricks of the lobbying trade. In this year's legislative session, Holden pushed through a bill raising the tax on hazardous waste, while Fields helped pass a bill regulating hazardous waste incinerators such as Marine Shale Processors, which masquerade as sham "recyclers." The two are tough-minded, powerful speakers who can't easily be ignored or stereotyped and dismissed as sentimental "tree-huggers." In one speech, Fields compared industries such as Rollins to "drug pushers," prompting a polite but threatening letter from the company. Fields' response was to repeat his charge on the steps of the state capitol. Another state representative, the 78-year-old Rev. Avery Alexander of New Orleans, whom police dragged down the steps of City Hall when he tried to eat in the cafeteria in the '50s, was there to pass the torch from the civil rights movement.

Not working: One reason why elected officials like these are beginning to take a more active stand against polluters was mentioned as Holden and Fields walked Scenic Highway in front of Exxon's city-within-a-city. "Are any of our people working here?" Fields asked Holden. "Not any new ones," Holden replied, implying that his councilman days of getting constituents hired at nearby plants have ceased. The boom years tended to help politicians who were more interested in what they could get out of industry than what industry was putting out into the environment. Public awareness and dissatisfaction

INSIDE STORY

with industries that have laid off employees or just pulled up and left toxic problems has made openings for politicians with environmental concerns. The jobs argument has lost its clout in areas where unemployment exceeds 15 percent.

Another sign of the biracial coalition-building was the presence of an organizer for the Human Environment Network, a non-profit group in Washington, D.C., that is working to involve more minorities in the environmental movement. The group is seeking grants to help environmental groups such as those based in the capital to hire more minorities. One foundation that has shown some interest is in turn asking for a commitment from the environmental groups to pay half the costs.

By the end of the week, the march seemed to have achieved its public awareness goal. Informal TV polls indicated at least half the people thought favorably of even Greenpeace's more radical actions. A letter to the editor in a local newspaper warned that people are not as apathetic about the environment as some politicians and the media think. The movement must now build on the march to pressure the state and push bills through the legislature to bring reductions in toxic discharges and serious cleanup efforts across the state. To do this, organizers will have to launch a more intense grass-roots campaign to get people from across the state who have been touched by pollution—and who hasn't?—to make themselves and their concerns heard in the legislature through letters and phone calls. The organizers will have to involve more people, tie in with existing organizations and delegate authority, such as going to student government leaders at Southern University. The message for such a campaign is obvious: industry may provide the jobs and the campaign contributions, but the people do the breathing and the voting.

Zack Nauth is a reporter for the *New Orleans Times Picayune*.

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By Eric Gravley

MOST AMERICANS BELIEVE THE WAR ON drugs is a necessary evil and that we surrender at our peril. Since last April, however, a small but vocal opposition has formed against the war on drugs. An odd coalition of elite academics, psychiatrists, libertarians and a few politicians, the opposition capitalizes on a national mood of fatigue and frustration. They ask, "What price for this holy war?"

Those who oppose current drug policy say that "the drug war" is a dangerous misnomer. Bad metaphors lead to bad policy. Reformers like Princeton professor Ethan Nadelmann criticize the Reagan twin policy of interdiction and just-say-no rhetoric that apparently has reduced neither supply nor demand. Instead drug dealers make off the with gross national product, drug-related crime has reached intolerable levels, courts and jails cannot cope with the volume of new criminals, addicts share needles and AIDS and people who cannot find marijuana are now using crack.

The opposition's message is that there must be a better way. They believe drug abuse should be approached as a social-health problem rather than a criminal justice one. Their tools of choice are education and rehabilitation. In short, they advocate a kinder, gentler drug policy.

A different track: The reform coalition is led by academics like Nadelmann, whose front-line articles in *Foreign Policy* and *The Public Interest* earlier this year made him the reform torchbearer; American University's Arnold Trebach, who heads the Drug Policy Foundation, a Washington, D.C.-based reform think tank; and Harvard psychiatrists Norman Zinberg and Lester Grinspoon, who are campaigning to remove the ban on illicit drugs for medical use. They have tried to focus the debate on the costs of drug prohibition and to force policy-makers to think of the drug war realistically, not as a moral crusade.

Another large patch in the reform crazy quilt is sewn by bedrock conservatives. Laissez-faire titans William F. Buckley and Milton Friedman favor legalization, as do free-marketers like the editors of *The Economist*. Prohibitive drug laws, they argue, are no match for the laws of supply and demand. Libertarian purists such as 1988 presidential candidate Ron Paul and David Boaz of the Cato Institute assert that the liberty of the individual should remain absolute as long as the individual does not violate the rights of others. Current drug policy, they say, is a failure that unjustifiably aggrandizes state power. Dallas-based libertarian and *National Review* contributor Richard Cowan warns, "We're not going to be drug-free, just unfree."

The ACLU and other civil libertarians, such as Harvard Law School professor Alan Dershowitz and Drug Policy Foundation attorney Kevin Zeese, share the concern that an extreme anti-drug policy leads to overly intrusive government action. Their main priority is preventing drug testing from becoming an institution of everyday life.

A few reformers such as Friedman advocate legalization of all drugs. Like alcohol and tobacco, illicit drugs would be highly taxed to generate revenue and sold under state control to adults only. Advertising,



Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke: a leading drug-policy reformer.

Building the case against America's narcotic jihad

however, would be forbidden, as would operation of heavy machinery for users under the influence. Most others in this loose-knit coalition prefer various schemes of decriminalization, a less radical reform than legalization. Under decriminalization, drug use is still "against the law," but the law is not enforced or the penalties are sharply reduced. All say the government must put aside the hysteria and take a fresh look at the problem.

Critics of legalization and decriminalization warn, as did Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), that we will become "a nation of zombies." None of the experts knows for sure if D'Amato is right, but his warning seems more paranoid than prescient. After the repeal of alcohol prohibition more people drank, but the U.S. did not become a nation of drunkards.

Reform leaders like Trebach point to the Netherlands as an example. During the '70s the Dutch decriminalized, reduced funds for enforcement and designated drug treatment the top priority. Today crime has decreased. Overall drug use has dipped slightly, and among teenagers it has fallen markedly. Adicts, however, remain a persistent problem. Soft drugs are widely available and support a healthy drug-cafe business in major cities. The Dutch, it appears, developed a containment policy.

Not surprisingly, politicians have not rushed to join the reform coalition. Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke caused a sensation in April when he asked Congress to hold hearings on the pros and cons of decriminalization. Schmoke's call pressured Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY), the chairman of the House

Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, to conduct such a session in late September.

Schmoke has paid for invoking the "L-word." Followers of Lyndon LaRouche, led by his vice-presidential candidate Debra Freeman, have led a harassment campaign against Schmoke by once heckling him when he spoke, by demonstrating at city hall and by littering Baltimore with leaflets calling Schmoke a "pusher." More responsible black church leaders, who form Schmoke's political base, express doubts about their mayor. This is not the kind of response that encourages other politicians.

Still, there are a few. In April New York State Sen. Joseph Galiber introduced a bill in the state house to legalize all drugs. The bill has seen little movement and is not likely to, but it is a comprehensive draft of legislation that counters the common criticism that reformers pay no attention to specifics. Other politicians urge "re-examining" drug policy, a convenient euphemism that allows them to be both in and out of the closet. In this group are Minneapolis Mayor Donald Fraser, Washington Mayor Marion Barry and two Democratic Congressmen, James Scheuer of New York and Pete Stark of California.

The case for legalization: The reform movement promotes a fatalistic, "face facts" argument: the tunnel has no end and no light. Accordingly, the nation should make peace with a difficult problem and manage what cannot be contained. They argue as follows:

- Drug prohibition, not drug abuse, produces the "drug-related" crime terrorizing American cities. As with alcohol prohibition

during the '30s, illicit drugs create a black market in which profit drives an engine of violence. In Washington, D.C., for example, there have been more than 340 homicides so far this year—at least 50 more than the previous all-time record. City officials attribute the rise to turf wars between crack and cocaine dealers.

- The illicit-licit distinction distorts actual health concerns regarding popular drugs. Francis Young, the administrative law judge for the Drug Enforcement Administration, wrote in a recent opinion that in marijuana's medical history "there are simply no credible medical reports to suggest that consuming marijuana has caused a single death." The use of all other illicit drugs is responsible for 5,000 to 6,000 deaths a year. In comparison, alcohol kills an estimated 100,000 people a year, and cigarettes take the largest toll at 350,000 a year.

- The supply of drugs cannot be stopped, no matter how many agents, boats, planes and radar blimps the government deploys: the volume of traffic is simply too large. One cargo plane can store enough crystalline cocaine to supply the U.S. for a year. As for shutting off supply in the source countries of Asia and Latin America, the prospects seem slim. The United Nations has a noble crop substitution plan, but as long as drugs yield that easy money, other crops are no substitution. Finally, like stubborn weeds, new supplies of drugs will always turn up.

- The demand for drugs will remain high in a society with an established drug culture. Spuds MacKenzie is the spiritual godhead for a nation that fortifies its diet with vitamins rather than vegetables, has a pill for every ailment, enjoys its cigarette and forever awaits Miller Time. An estimated one-third of Americans have tried illicit drugs, 6.8 million use cocaine at least once a month and 25 million use marijuana at least once a month, according to the select committee.

- The drug war has severely strained the criminal justice system. A two-year study by the American Bar Association released this

Those who oppose the current drug policy say that "the drug war" is a misnomer. Bad metaphors lead to bad policy.

month concludes that increased criminal justice efforts have not had a significant impact on the drug problem and "have instead distorted and overwhelmed the criminal justice system, crowding dockets and jails, and deluding law enforcement and judicial efforts to deal with other major criminal cases."

- Changing collective behavior using the criminal justice approach will require the militarization of society, an unacceptable result. Social-health policy remains a more practical and less vindictive way to reduce drug use. Per capita tobacco use dropped from 41.7 percent in 1965 to 32.6 percent in 1983, largely because people learned about the health costs of smoking.

- A policy change also means shifting budget priorities. This year the U.S. spent

Continued on page 10

By Joel Bleifuss

Exporting fascism

On November 4 Miguel Martin of *El Nuevo Periodista* (the New Journalist), a left-leaning Buenos Aires-based magazine, reported, "Members of a supposedly clandestine army and marginal politicians like Norberto Imbelloni [an Argentinian politician, now in exile, who supported the military dictatorship] plan a coup d'état in Argentina by March at the latest." In addition to giving a forewarning of the military insurrection of December 1-4, Martin examined the little-noticed role Paraguay plays as an exporter of far-right revolt. He reported that this upcoming coup attempt in Argentina was being supported by "elements of the Spanish fascist movement [Falangists who fled to Paraguay after Franco's death] and the president-for-life [Alfredo Stroessner]... Even though much has been written about 'Paraguayan protofascism,' it's necessary to remember the agenda of famous Falangists and Nazis who still live in Paraguay." These assorted fascists are grouped around the Euro-American Circle of Art and Culture, a sister organization of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), which was once headed by an anti-character Gen. John Singlaub. Martin reported that the meetings of these self-described "fugitives from the synagogue of radical Judeo-Marxism" are sometimes held in Imbelloni's home. "In one of the latest meetings, an ex-Argentine military officer began to criticize Col. Mohamed Ali Seineldin, but Imbelloni interrupted him by saying, 'In this house we do not insult the best of the soldiers of our glorious army.'" It was the same Col. Seineldin who led the attempted coup.

Quayle takes another hit

Allegations of Vice President-elect Dan Quayle's encounters with the drug culture continue to bubble (see "In Short," Nov. 16). In 1968 frat man Dan Quayle, then a junior at DePauw University, lived in the Delta Kappa Epsilon (DKE) fraternity house. According to the school yearbook, *The Mirage*, the theme of the DKE's 1968 fall house dance was "The Trip." This frat party—the first held without the supervision of a housemother—was described in *The Mirage* as "a colorful psychedelic journey into the wild sights and sounds produced by LSD." A former collegemate of Quayle's told Doug Hissom of the Milwaukee weekly *Shepherd Express*, "LSD was not served directly by the fraternity, but it most certainly would have been taken by the members."

Pick a source, any source

Have you ever wondered when reading the *New York Times* exactly who are those unnamed official sources that so often pop up in a story? Bruce Porter reports in the current *Columbia Journalism Review* that sometimes they don't have a name. They don't exist. In an examination of the changes at the *Times* under the two-year tutelage of executive editor Max Frankel, Porter writes: "Last year word went out that it was now OK for Washington and foreign correspondents occasionally to interpret on their own hook what stories meant, without having to attribute that interpretation to 'official sources.' But last fall, when the then diplomatic correspondent, David K. Shipler, put the policy to work in a story analyzing what effect Caspar Weinberger's departure would have on the dynamics of White House decision-making, editors back in New York automatically stuck the phrase 'administration officials said today' into the lead sentence without notifying Shipler."

The resemblance was in the teeth

Last month the Standardbred Horse Sale Company of Hanover, Pa., sold 1,572 harness horses for \$32,513,400—an average of \$20,583 a steed. *Harness Horse* magazine reports that one of the auction's basement bargains was Colonel North, a two-year-old colt. The Colonel sold for only \$1,400. In *These Times* reader and horse breeder Bill Hughes of Topsham, Maine, writes: "As you probably know, most people who invest in racing stock are miles from us politically. At least the breeder of Colonel North had the good sense to name a bad horse after the hero of Jerry Falwell. In case you wonder how I am mixed up in this, my father was from a Pennsylvania horse-country family, and although I escaped from the family's political beliefs through exposure to Gene Debs, Vito Marcantonio, Norman Thomas and Rev. [A.J.] Muste, I was already hooked on the narcotic known as fast horses, and have been entirely unable to shake the habit."



Navy mistreats dolphin conscripts

The next dolphin you see swimming the ocean may not be the peaceful creature who might someday save your life in rough seas. Recent reports allege that the U.S. Navy is training 115 dolphins and about 100 pilot whales, beluga whales and sea lions for top-secret missions and national defense purposes. And it is said that an increasing number of these dolphins and sea lions are going AWOL, due to a mismanaged training program that is exceptionally hard on the animals involved.

Training dolphins for war began in 1960. The animals were first used in 1971, in South Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay, to guard ships. Today the Navy and the CIA train marine mammals at clandestine facilities in Florida, California and Hawaii. According to the *National Journal*, former Navy psychophysicologist Michael Greenwood testified last October at closed hearings of the Senate Select Intelligence Committee that dolphins were being taught to attack and kill enemy scuba divers. Greenwood said that dolphins were being trained to attack Soviet ships docked in Havana, Cuba. The Navy denies that dolphins have been used for "dispatching" enemy frogmen but confirms that dolphins are used to intercept and capture enemy swimmers.

Several U.S. Navy dolphin trainers charge that "abuse, weight loss, corporal punishment and damage to animals after transport" have left some of the Navy's dolphins and sea lions crippled or dead. Last week Ed Offley of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* reported that 13 dolphins trained for a secret Navy program have died in the past two years. Medical reports from the Navy's marine-mammal program reveal that five of the 13 died soon after being transported from one naval facility to another. Records indicate that before their deaths nearly half the dol-

phins suffered from lack of appetite or stomach ulcers. Hepatitis and pneumonia also took a toll. The Navy had previously admitted that two dolphins died in the last year, including one of six dolphins detailed to the Persian Gulf to protect ships and locate mines and a dolphin involved in research in an underwater weapons lab. In light of these deaths, the federal Marine Mammal Commission has opened an investigation of the Navy's marine-mammal program.

Richard Trout is a trainer of marine mammals for 15 years who has worked for the past three years for SEACO, a private corporation that trains marine mammals for the Naval Oceans Systems Command in San Diego. Trout has gone public with a long list of Navy training-program abuses. He says he informed his superiors of several near-drownings of sea lions in unsafe pens made of netting, but that no action was taken until an animal was killed. Said Trout, "That [drowned] animal was taken out of the net with no formal notice to appropriate authorities that I heard of and weighted and sunk [into the ocean]."

A dolphin also got tangled in the net by a muzzle that was placed over his snout, according to Trout. He said he had never heard of using muzzles on dolphins in the marine-park industry, and when he asked why they were being used in the Navy, he was told the low skill level of present Navy trainers and the high number of animals in the program made muzzles necessary to "discourage the animals from feeding themselves." Other negligent and abusive handling that Trout says he witnessed includes a dolphin left out of the water in the sun and a sea lion getting "kicked in the head twice for refusing to eat," as well as routine beatings with fists, boots and buckets. Trout says as many as 80 percent of civilian SEACO personnel working as marine-mammal trainers for the Navy have recently quit due to the

alleged abuse.

These revelations shine some light into the murky waters of the militarization of marine mammals, but an obscure section to the 1987 Defense Authorization Act allows the Navy to capture 25 marine mammals a year for the national defense without having to report what it does to them as required under the Marine Mammal Protection Act. In fiscal years 1985 through 1989, the Navy received \$28.7 million for "advanced marine biological systems" [marine mammal] research.

The Navy has also remained silent about the number of marine mammals that have gone AWOL. According to rangers at San Miguel Island off Southern California, a number of sea lions have shown up this year wearing secret Navy equipment harnesses. And in December 1986, the Florida Marine Patrol reported an emaciated dolphin swimming in South Florida wearing a muzzle on its snout. The dolphin had apparently escaped from the Navy dolphin-training operations at Key West, Florida.

Environmentalists and animal rights activists fear that the militarization of marine animals will make these animals targets for U.S. adversaries. "Will countries who view the U.S. as unfriendly begin to blow out of the water every dolphin and whale that approaches their ships or harbors?" asked Peter Wallerstein of Sea Shepherd, an environmental group that takes credit for sinking an Icelandic whaling ship in 1986.

A counterattack has begun. Members of the group Charly Tuna of Rainbo Warriors cut the nets and attempted to release dolphins from Naval Oceans Systems Center in San Diego. And Greenpeace plans to fight the construction of 16 dolphin-holding pens at the Trident Nuclear Submarine Base in Bangor, Wash.

As for your next ocean encounter with Flipper, just hope the dolphin is not a stressed-out killer commando gone AWOL. —Todd Steiner

Racial incident precedes hit-and-run death on Staten Island

NEW YORK—New York City, where race relations continue to deteriorate, may have another Howard Beach on its hands. Two years after Michael Griffith was chased into speeding traffic by white men in Howard Beach, Queens, a black boy in Staten Island met the same fate under chillingly similar circumstances. But the exact details of the incident may never be discovered. As far as the district attorney is concerned, the case is closed.

The friends of Derek Antonio Tyus, 17, of Staten Island, say he was running away from angry whites when they last saw him the night of October 7. They did not see the car that hit him—all they know is that he is dead.

One of Tyus' friends, 14-year-old Larry LaPrince, described the nightmarc he and 10 other boys experienced on their way home from a grocery store in the all-white Rosebank neighborhood that borders their housing project. As the boys passed the J&J Bar and Grill at about 8:00 p.m., a white man was getting into his car. Said LaPrince, "We walked past the bar and he said, 'What are you niggers doing here?' Tony [Tyus] turned around and said that he don't want no trouble."

The white man then walked back into the bar and rounded up several of his friends. LaPrince said, "We started running, and Tony went the other way." Meanwhile the white men got into two cars and pursued

the group. One block past the bar one of the cars pulled up alongside some of the boys, and a white man got out. The man caught an 11-year-old and threw him to the ground. The boy's brother, who told the police a similar story, grabbed an electrical wire that was lying on the sidewalk and waved it at the man. Apparently that was enough to distract the man and allow the boys to run away.

The boys have said in various interviews that they did not see Tyus after the initial exchange in front of the bar. But they did see police lights flashing near where Tyus was struck. "We didn't want to go back where the lights were, because we were afraid we were going to get in trouble," LaPrince said. A 10-year-old tells a similar story: "I was so scared, I don't know how many guys was chasing us."

The Staten Island police said in late October that a "racial incident" definitely occurred at 8:00 p.m., 20 minutes before the fatal accident. Linking the incident to Tyus' death 20 minutes later has proven difficult. New York Chief of Detectives Robert Colangelo has announced a "vigorous" investigation into "a possibly racially motivated death of a teenager." Sensationalist attorney Colin Moore, who represents eight of the boys who were chased, prefers to describe the incident as "just a case of good old-fashioned racism." The New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) is representing Tyus' family.

Originally thought to have been an accident, the case has attracted the interest of the FBI, the district attorney, city and state politicians, the media, members of the Rainbow

Coalition and Rev. Al Sharpton—the controversial leader of the Howard Beach and Tawana Brawley protests. The circus atmosphere has further polarized the already-divided Staten Island community, making an investigation difficult. In the meantime Sharpton, Moore and Denise Pedro (a member of the Rainbow Coalition who, according to other members, has used the coalition's name without authorization) organized a March For Decency through Rosebank to demand arrests be made.

Earlene Bethel of the Staten Island Minority Civic Association, said she and others in Tyus' neighborhood are angered by all the "spotlight junkies" such as Sharpton and Moore. Bethel angrily recalled that Moore arranged a press conference on the day of the funeral "and didn't even pay his respects."

The Wednesday before Thanksgiving, in the midst of the holiday rush, Staten Island District Attorney Bill Murphy closed his file on the matter after an "extensive and intensive investigation that found no evidence of criminality." But as of last week the FBI was still investigating the incident. And Gov. Mario Cuomo's office had not moved on Moore and Pedro's demands for a special prosecutor, pointing out that neither Moore nor Pedro formally requested one.

The Tyus family's CCR attorneys will continue to pursue the case. Moore said he will also continue to represent the eight boys but that he won't cooperate with the Staten Island Police who "are Gestapo and will be treated as an enemy."

—Robert Nathan

Intifada anniversary

The Palestinian *intifada* began one year ago. To mark that anniversary it seems appropriate to take note of those who have died. Joe Lockard reports from Jerusalem that, according to the Israeli military, 301 Palestinians have died and 3,640 were injured. Eight Israelis, including two soldiers, were killed and more than 300 hurt. Most of these casualties have occurred on the West Bank. The Palestine Human Rights Information Center puts the Palestinian toll at 390 dead: 287 by shooting, 66 due to tear gas inhalation (including 25 infants) and 37 killed by beating and other causes. The center estimates that 20,000 to 25,000 Palestinians have been treated for injuries, and more than 100 of those injuries resulted in partial or total paraplegia.

Disastrous policies

For the Reagan administration, disaster aid is never far removed from politics. After Chile's March 1985 earthquake the U.S. sent \$7 million in relief to the government of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. After Hurricane Gilbert swept through Jamaica this past September, the U.S. provided \$107.8 million to the government of Prime Minister Edward Seaga. This aid was probably meant to favorably impress Jamaican voters, who will go to the polls early next year to choose between democratic socialist Michael Manley or Seaga, a man described by the Washington, D.C.-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs as "the Reagan administration's most loyal Caribbean surrogate." Then there was Hurricane Joan that battered Costa Rica and Nicaragua on October 22. In the wake of that disaster, the U.S. gave the Costa Rican government of President Oscar Arias \$25,000 and loaned a few helicopters to the relief efforts. Costa Rica's former ambassador to Washington, Guido Fernandez, described the \$25,000 in U.S. relief as "parrot feedings." Obviously the administration was attempting to punish Arias for promoting his Central American peace plan. As for Nicaragua, where Hurricane Joan left hundreds of thousands of people homeless and caused an estimated \$828 million in damage, the Reagan administration has still done nothing. The Council on Hemispheric Affairs observed, "Through its inaction the White House is attempting to squeeze the Nicaraguan economy even tighter, in hopes that more Nicaraguans will join the internal opposition, undermining the Sandinistas' popular support." But nothing says more than President Reagan's one-word response when asked how he felt about Hurricane Joan's destruction in Nicaragua. He smiled and replied, "Delighted."

The oh-so-sensitive IMF

Washington, D.C., artist Norman Strike was happy that his linoleum-block print, titled *Lonesome George and the Bushwhackers*, had been one of the 60 works of art chosen to be exhibited in the International Print Competition that was co-sponsored by the Washington Area Printmakers and the IMF (International Monetary Fund) Art Society. The exhibit opened on November 29 in the lobby of IMF headquarters. Strike told this story to *In These Times*: "I appeared at the gallery opening with my wife. We were looking around for the print and then Martin Gilman [the Art Society president, who describes his group as an extracurricular organization of IMF employees who 'have an interest in the appreciation of the arts'] and Betty MacDonald [the Washington Area Printmakers' coordinator for the competition] came up to me. Gilman said that he was sorry but that he had to remove my print from the show because it was considered too controversial and [the Art Society] couldn't afford to offend any IMF member countries." Strike was outraged. Betty MacDonald was not too pleased either. "We were hoping to hold such a contest every year," she said, "but now probably not at the IMF. You can't have a good international print show with censorship." Gilman defends his decision to remove the offending art work. "We have a standing policy," he said, "that any work that is an overt political statement we would not show here because of the intergovernmental nature of the IMF. [Strike's print] was an overly political statement. We simply have a policy of not admitting works like that because we would be open to pressure from elsewhere in the world." As it is, the IMF Art Society has opened itself up to pressure from Washington artists. At least four print show exhibitors have taken down their work in an expression of solidarity with Strike. *Lonesome George and the Bushwhackers* is now on exhibit in a show titled "Win, Lose and Mixed Media—Artists Look at Politics" at the Studio Gallery, 2108 R Street NW, Washington, D.C.



1988 Rick Reinhard

By David Moberg

A dream of 'one big union' for health-care employees

JOBS IN HEALTH CARE ARE BOOMING, AND THE nation's health-worker unions want to share in that growth. In recent years they have found it hard to launch organizing efforts that keep up with the rapid growth of jobs provided by nursing homes and home-care services, as well as outpatient and other medical facilities. Now they think changes within the turbulent industry offer them key openings for unionization—especially if they can get their own houses in order. Ultimately, their success could help push the U.S. toward a more rational, comprehensive national health-care system.

"One big union"; many big conflicts:

For years health-care union organizers have dreamed of forming "one big union" of health workers. In mid-November leaders in the 70,000-member National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, or Hospital Workers Union, announced that they were ready to affiliate with the 850,000-member Service Employees International Union (SEIU), which represents about 300,000 health-related workers. But Hospital Workers President Henry Nicholas opposes the move and wants to affiliate with American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which represents about 300,000 health workers, mainly in public institutions. Now there is not only an internal rift over direction of the Hospital Workers but open competition between SEIU and AFSCME for control of the small but aggressive hospital union.

The Hospital Workers are the partial heirs to Local 1199, a New York union that started representing pharmacists in the '30s and made historic breakthroughs organizing the mostly minority, low-paid New York hospital workers in the '60s. After 1974, when Congress amended national labor relations law to cover hospital workers, there was a burst of successful organizing. Local 1199, which was part of the otherwise moribund Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), clashed often with SEIU, but leaders in both unions wanted to end the conflicts and form a union for all health workers.

Serious merger discussions started in 1979, but despite Local 1199's enthusiasm, the merger proposal collapsed in 1982, largely because of resistance from RWDSU leaders. Then Local 1199 and RWDSU battled internally for a couple of years, until the Hospital Workers Union spun off as an independent union, leaving half of its previous membership behind in the New York Local 1199 as part of the RWDSU.

After a few years spent trying to establish itself, the newly independent Hospital Workers Union returned in the spring of 1987 to discussions of merger. SEIU seemed the most likely prospect. But Nicholas—by some accounts wary of any merger—had long been friends with AFSCME President Gerald McEntee, even though AFSCME and the Hospital Workers had a bitter battle over organizing drives in Ohio.

A year ago the Hospital Workers Union convention voted in favor of pursuing a merger but left the final decision to the executive board. A unity committee appointed by Nicholas pursued talks with SEIU, AFSCME and other unions. At a lengthy executive board meeting on September 30, the dispute came to a head. The unity committee moved to pursue the AFSCME affilia-

tion and to require a two-thirds vote to approve any merger. But after a walkout by several board members, Nicholas concluded there was no quorum. The remaining board members, who claimed a quorum by virtue of representing 41,000 workers compared to the 28,000 represented by those who walked out, rejected the Unity Committee proposal and adjourned the meeting. Several weeks later they reconvened to recommend merger with SEIU in a February membership vote.

Torn between two unions: Nicholas continues to favor affiliation with AFSCME, arguing that AFSCME offered a better financial deal and more autonomy for the Hospital

LABOR

Workers. Although Nicholas said he's not planning to challenge the board's action in court, he argued that the ballot should include both SEIU and AFSCME options. "They can't print and distribute the ballots without my authority," he warned.

Hospital Workers leaders who favor merger with SEIU admit that the AFSCME deal looks richer up front but they argue that in the long run the SEIU offer of new organizing funds and other subsidies virtually matches or betters the AFSCME offer.

More important, they argue that there's a better fit between the Hospital Workers and SEIU. AFSCME is organized on a geographic basis of district councils, reflecting its bargaining with government units. But SEIU has a health-care division—and that would permit closer working relationships with other health-care employees, SEIU advocates say. They also say that the proposed arrangement to give the Hospital Workers autonomy within AFSCME would leave the unit cut off from other AFSCME health workers. Besides, they argue, AFSCME overwhelmingly represents public employees (roughly one-third in hospitals, one-third in mental retardation units and one-third in state psychiatric institutions). SEIU and the Hospital Workers represent primarily private health-care providers, both in profit and non-profit facilities. AFSCME, however, argues that there are no big differences between the needs of private and public health workers.

The driving motivation for the SEIU affiliation, argued Hospital Workers executive vice president for organization, Robert Muehlenkamp, is the "genuine belief that we can all do better if we have one big union of health care workers that concentrates on that and unifies the jurisdiction, so no one could argue who the health care workers' union is." Bob Welsh, executive assistant to SEIU President John Sweeney, said he hopes the SEIU-Hospital Workers affiliation will be to the health industry what the Steelworkers and UAW are to steel and auto.

A difficult operation: In the '80s no union has had much success organizing hospitals. Hospital administrators have employed the usual range of hardball anti-union tactics. Since 1982 they have been aided by a decision of the Reagan-appointed National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) overturning an earlier decision. That decision concerned

the issue of what groups or "units" of workers within a single workplace can hold elections. The issue is of vital importance to unions, because it is easier for them to organize when they can go unit-by-unit, unionizing nurses' aides first, then maintenance employees, then nurses, for example. But the NLRB in 1982 ruled that the smaller units within a larger workforce could hold separate elections only if there was a significant "disparity of interests." That decision made it easier for hospital administrators to broaden election units and dilute support.

But the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled in March 1987 that the NLRB had misinterpreted the law, and the NLRB then agreed under union pressure to establish a formal rule about what units are fair game for organizers, instead of deciding on a case-by-case basis. The new rule, expected in final form soon, is supposed to return basically to the earlier pattern permitting smaller unit elections.

There are about 7.3 million health-care industry workers, and the industry is expected to grow by 2.9 percent annually to reach nearly 10 million by the year 2000. Half of the occupations in the Bureau of Labor Statistics 20 fastest-growing occupations are medical, and three of the 10 occupations with the largest absolute growth in numbers of jobs are health-related. Although doctors and many health professionals are well-paid, the industry's average earnings are slightly below the average for all private, non-supervisory employees, reflecting the very low wages paid in some of the faster-growing occupations, such as home-health aides or medical assistants. Overwhelmingly the lowest-paid workers are minority and female.

Unionization varies tremendously, with public institutions nearly twice as well-organized as private ones. Muehlenkamp esti-

The Hospital Workers Union and the Service Employees International Union plan to merge.

mates that around 12 percent of eligible employees in private health-care facilities are in unions, with unionization stronger in the slowest-growing health-industry sector of hospitals and weaker in the fastest-growing areas of outpatient care. Others estimate that nearly 20 percent of the entire industry is unionized.

Better days ahead: Organizers think that changing economic conditions in the health-care industry, along with the NLRB rule change, should help organizing. In many areas of the country there are already serious shortages of workers.

The lowest-paid health workers have fallen furthest behind in recent years. Even within hospitals, Muehlenkamp said, their share of labor expenditures has shrunk. There is consequently a "pent-up need" for union representation, he argues, and these

workers may be ready to organize in their own defense.

Nurses—who are especially in demand—are fed up with what they see as low pay for their skilled work. They are also frustrated over conditions of work, especially doctor resistance to their playing a larger role in patient care. Many nurses are dropping out of the profession, and younger women often have greater professional alternatives, including becoming doctors, than women did in the past.

Although nurses can now vote with their feet in moving from job to job, organizers think they may also be ready to act collectively. SEIU's Welsh argues that "organizing among professionals, especially registered nurses, will really take off [in the next few years]. It has already picked up the pace. Nurses now lead the pace in organizing in hospitals. As RN organizing expands, you'll see a lot of other service and maintenance organizing follow."

In recent years both SEIU and the Hospital Workers have concentrated on nursing homes and other outpatient facilities more than hospitals. Even though hospitals may be the prime target of a new wave, organizing in the fastest-growing, non-hospital business continues with some success.

"We've been organizing nursing homes by the dozens," Welsh said. "But you can't get contracts in nursing homes. Getting contracts in hospitals is easier, but organizing is harder." But anticipated congressional nursing-home reform and long-term care financing could make it easier for unions to win contracts. Earlier this year home health-care workers in New York won important improvements in wages and work conditions after a concerted campaign of publicity and political pressure.

Welsh also expects SEIU and the Hospital Workers, if their merger is approved, to launch a new campaign organizing in the South. SEIU has built a base in parts of the South in recent years with its Justice for Janitors campaign and the work of SEIU affiliates that were started by ACORN, the low-income community organizing group.

Impetus for national health? The demands of workers for decent pay and better working conditions clash with the pressure to reduce costs, even though wage pressure is certainly not the cause of rapid medical inflation. Along with other crises in the medical system, the new organizing drives among hospital and health workers could lead to a transformation of the nation's health-care delivery.

"What's going to happen within the next decade is we're going to see substantial changes in the health-care delivery system," Welsh said. "There's a consensus among the industry leadership that we can't continue with the present [cost] increases. You could build a consensus for substantial changes in health-care financing. But it doesn't seem politically feasible to move to a national health-care system of some sort without an extremely strong push from health-care workers. We've said quality of care and access are critical in our organizing."

Success in organizing health-care workers in the next few years will obviously affect more than the jobs and income of the workers themselves. It could become a major force for the much-needed, long-deferred creation of a comprehensive national health-care system. □

WHEN PAUL NITZE JOINED THE REAGAN administration as an arms-control negotiator in 1981, he had the reputation of being a staunch hawk who had fiercely opposed President Carter's SALT II treaty with the Soviets. But as Reagan leaves office, Nitze stands out as the administration's chief proponent of arms control. And Nitze's legacy as, in his own words, the administration's "radical dove" illustrates the degree to which other Reagan officials have stood firmly against meaningful negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Late last month Nitze, the special adviser to the secretary of state on arms-control matters, spoke at Harvard University's Strategy and Arms Control Seminar. Nitze's speech, titled "The Nuclear and Space Talks: The Reagan Legacy and the Path Ahead," represented the veteran arms expert's swan song as the leading voice for arms control within the administration.

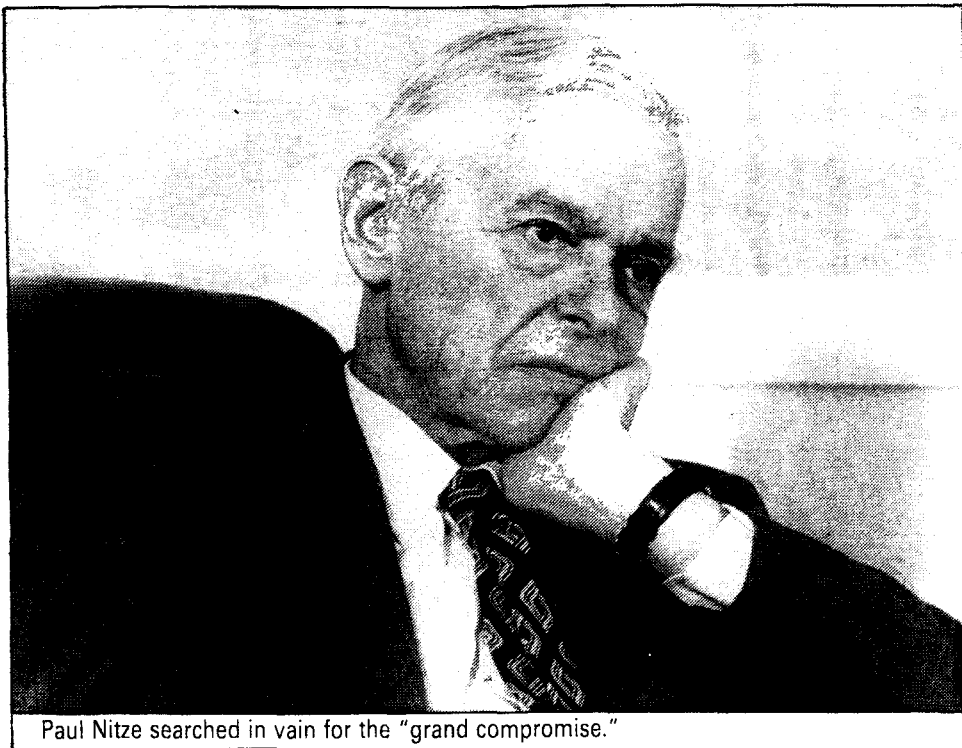
Like most of Nitze's speeches over the last seven years, this one can be read as a standard anti-Soviet diatribe. But if Nitze's words are placed in the context of internal administration arms-control battles, his speech is an eloquent plea for a new comprehensive arms-control agreement. It also represents an attack on the main obstacle to such an agreement—the Reagan administration's unwillingness to bargain with the Soviet Union over the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or Star Wars.

For the last four years Nitze has advocated the same formula for a new treaty that he followed in negotiating the original SALT-ABM treaty of 1972: swap American concessions in defensive weaponry for Soviet concessions in offensive weaponry. Nitze wanted the U.S. to put off SDI development and testing in exchange for Soviet reductions in their land-based heavy missiles—weapons that Nitze argued could be used for a first strike against U.S. missile silos.

Nitze and chief arms negotiator Max Kampelman were able to wring repeated concessions on ICBMs from Soviet negotiators, but they were not able to get their own administration to budge on SDI. As a result, one opportunity after another for a comprehensive nuclear weapons treaty was lost. In his Harvard speech, Nitze advised the Bush administration not to make the same mistake.

Star Wars in the White House: In a new book about Nitze, *The Master of the Game*, Strobe Talbott, a reporter for *Time* magazine, tells how Nitze tried, since 1985, to get the administration to agree to what proponents called the "grand compromise." On Nitze's side throughout most of these internal battles were Kampelman, Secretary of State George Shultz and National Security Advisers Robert McFarlane and Frank Carlucci. Against him were Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) Director Kenneth Adelman and, most important, Ronald Reagan.

When the president announced his Star Wars plan in March 1983, he caught most of his advisers by surprise. Among the most skeptical about the new plan were Weinberger and the Pentagon. But as the president's advisers saw how utterly committed he was to the "dream" of a space-based defense against nuclear attack, they sought to adapt the plan to their own purposes. Nitze, McFarlane and Shultz viewed it as an important bargaining chip in arms-control negoti-



Paul Nitze searched in vain for the "grand compromise."

Arms negotiator Nitze and the deal not made

ations. McFarlane called it "the greatest sting operation in history"—a high-powered con job to get Soviet concessions.

Weinberger and Perle saw it as a way to destroy arms-control negotiations by plac-

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ing an immovable object in the way of Soviet agreement to strategic arms reductions. Perle got a Defense Department lawyer, who had no background in international law, to declare that the development and testing of a Star Wars system would not violate the ABM treaty. This "broad" interpretation of the ABM treaty overcame the last legal obstacle to the Weinberger-Perle ploy.

By contrast, Nitze's strategy on SDI, like his strategy during the INF negotiations, was to try to work out the terms of his own agreement with the Soviet Union, while attempting to lay the groundwork for presidential consent on SDI negotiations. Nitze tried to give ground to his opponents within the administration without losing his basic position. For instance, he finally agreed publicly that Perle's "broad" interpretation of the ABM treaty was the correct one. But Nitze insisted that in order to appease Congress and the European allies, the U.S. must officially adhere to the long-honored "narrow" interpretation that barred any development and testing of space-based weapons.

At home, Nitze argued that before it was deployed, a space-based weapons system would have to prove militarily effective and survivable against attack. He also stipulated that once a new SDI system was in place, it would have to be cost-effective "at the margin"—that is, cost-effective when computed to any new Soviet systems designed to outwit it. SDI's proponents declared that Nitze's criteria were meant to kill the program. The criteria were "not meetable," Henry Kissinger wrote in April 1985.

With the Soviets, Nitze argued that reductions in Soviet offensive weapons could be linked to the perpetuation of the ABM treaty. The Soviets initially demanded that the U.S. adhere to the ABM treaty for 15 years, but at Reykjavik in October 1987 they dropped

their demand to 10 years. Nitze got fleeting agreement to 10 years from the president. But the two sides failed to reach an agreement about what abiding by the treaty would mean. Thus at Reykjavik, negotiations finally broke off when Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov could not agree whether the treaty's ban on testing applied to space-based tests of SDI components.

The meaning of ABM: After Reykjavik, Nitze tried a different tack. His new plan was to get the U.S. and the Soviets to negotiate specifically what kinds of tests would be permitted or prohibited under the ABM treaty. Nitze wanted to remove rather than exploit the treaty's ambiguities. But even Nitze allies Shultz and Kampelman balked at trying to get this proposal past Reagan, who would not countenance any threat to SDI.

Even after Weinberger, Perle and Adelman resigned in 1987 and were replaced by officials amenable to Nitze's "grand compro-

The administration's refusal to budge on Star Wars meant many opportunities for a comprehensive nuclear arms treaty were lost.

mise," Nitze and Shultz were still not able to make headway with Reagan. In May of this year National Security Adviser Colin Powell announced finally that the president would "accept no cute way of listing 'permitted/prohibited' activities" under the ABM treaty. In the end, Reagan himself was the greatest obstacle to any comprehensive agreement with the Soviets.

But even though Nitze did not succeed in getting a new treaty, he did establish the framework that a new administration could adopt: the Soviets and the U.S. would agree to 50 percent cuts in their strategic weapons, subject to specific additional limits on land-based ICBMs, and would agree to abide by a strict interpretation of the ABM treaty—re-

searching, but not testing or deploying, a new space defense.

Almost every sentence of Nitze's speech at Harvard could be read as a defense of his position against that of Weinberger, Perle and other critics. In response to the advocates of nuclear shields, Nitze declared that American security policy had to be based on "deterrence—that is, the prevention of conflict by convincing a potential opponent that the risks and costs of aggression far outweigh any possible gains he might hope to achieve."

In response to the proponents of testing and deployment, Nitze asserted that a "robust SDI research program is important and necessary." In response to the contractors and the pro-SDI "Laser Lobby" in Congress, Nitze argued that "SDI [should] be guided by the criteria of survivability and cost-effectiveness at the margin. Deployment of a space-based defense system itself vulnerable to attack would encourage the Soviets to attack that system early in a crisis; deployment of a system that was not cost-effective would encourage the USSR to proliferate offensive systems in response."

Nitze reiterated his firm support for U.S.-Soviet negotiations on what should be prohibited and what should be permitted under the ABM treaty. The U.S., Nitze said, should negotiate with the Soviet Union "a clarification of the ABM treaty's definition of testing in any ABM mode and of components capable of substituting for ABM launchers, interceptor missiles and radars."

On one point Nitze went beyond his own negotiating position. Having previously advocated that the U.S. negotiate a period of non-withdrawal from the ABM treaty, Nitze now suggested that the U.S. should negotiate indefinite compliance with the treaty. Because "the Soviets may be able to deploy large-scale ABM defenses before we are, provisions freeing the sides from ABM treaty constraints on a [specific] date could be destabilizing under this scenario."

Scowcroft appointment: If President-elect Bush follows Nitze's advice, he could probably obtain a major arms-control treaty that would go well beyond SALT and SALT II. This new treaty could actually reduce armaments and the threat of nuclear war. But if he follows the advice of the extreme right and refuses any SDI negotiations, Bush may not get an agreement from Moscow at all.

While the president-elect has periodically hinted that he takes Nitze's position that SDI should be used as a bargaining chip, he has quickly withdrawn or denied these statements after protests from the right. Since his election, however, Bush has made one appointment that augurs well for the grand compromise.

Bush's new national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, is on record against SDI and for the narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty. In a report released last year Scowcroft and four other defense experts wrote that they saw "no prospect of building a significant and effective shield." And they called the broad interpretation "implausible." Also, Scowcroft, a trustee of the RAND Corporation, approved a strategy paper that buttressed Nitze's case for the grand compromise.

Of course Scowcroft may not get his way any more than Nitze did. It will be important to watch whom Bush's nominates for ACDA director and for Perle's former job as assistant secretary of defense for international security policy. The 82-year-old Nitze probably won't get either of these posts. But if his allies do, it's a good bet that Bush will try to do business with the Soviets on SDI. □

By Diana Johnstone

IN A SURPRISE MOVE, THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION of Italian Labor (CGIL) has abruptly dropped its colorless secretary-general and enthusiastically replaced him with Bruno Trentin, its most prestigious "organic intellectual." Trentin promised to work to unify the disintegrating labor movement, as he did nearly 20 years ago when he unified metalworkers belonging to Italy's three rival confederations.

The CGIL secretary-general is usually chosen at a CGIL congress, when the predecessor retires. Exceptionally, Trentin was picked by a committee of "wise men" and unanimously approved by all 166 members of the CGIL board last November 29, following the surprise resignation of Antonio Pizzinato, elected by the CGIL 11th Congress in March 1986 to replace Luciano Lama.

Trentin, like Pizzinato, is a member of the Italian Communist Party (PCI). Trentin is known for his critical independence from the party and emphasis on unifying political currents within the labor movement. He was supported by the Socialist No. 2 at the CGIL, Ottaviano Del Turco. For the first time the PCI was not consulted. However, it had been reported for weeks that the new secretary-general of the PCI, Achille Occhetto, would like to see Trentin leading the CGIL.

This may be less a matter of policy than of personality. Since the death of PCI Secretary-General Enrico Berlinguer in 1984, the PCI has been short on charisma. Pizzinato was virtually unknown when picked to succeed Luciano Lama. His effort to "refund" the union was unconvincing.

Trentin is the most charismatic leader the Communist left has—and the labor movement may need charisma even more than the party. Trentin has a personal history that can still stir emotions and loyalty.

A critical distance: Bruno Trentin was born in 1926 in southwestern France as a political refugee. His father, liberal jurist Silvio Trentin, was one of 12 Italian professors who refused to sign the oath of allegiance to fascism. By the age of 15 Bruno had been won over from his father's liberalism to the more radical approach of anarchist refugees from nearby Spain. Still, father took son to Italy to help organize partisan resistance to fascism. Silvio Trentin died in one of Mussolini's last prisons.

The former French anarchist became Italian by joining the Italian Communist Party (PCI), but never lost his critical distance. In the family tradition, Bruno Trentin studied law. Like his father, he chose to follow his convictions rather than a normal career, and in 1949 went to the CGIL, where he set up the research office. Of bourgeois origin, Trentin deliberately chose to be an "organic intellectual" of the working class, in the term of Antonio Gramsci.

It is a choice that was made by many other Italians after the defeat of fascism. Nobody in Italy doubted Trentin's sincerity when he concluded his November 29 acceptance speech by saying, "Ours is not a job like the others. It is a mission—a reason for living."

Trentin headed the CGIL metalworkers federation (FIOM) in the militant '60s. His major achievement was in putting together a unified metalworkers union with the two other rival confederations, thus partially restoring the labor unity that had been shattered in the Cold War, when American-

The man who could unify Italy's labor movement

backed social democrats and Christian Democrats left the CGIL to build the UIL and CISL.

EUROPE

As head of the reunited metalworkers, Trentin was the leading exponent of a new unionism ready to confront a whole range of issues—from ongoing adult education (the "150 hours" of free classes for workers to pursue their interests) to industrial investment policy. Autonomy from political parties enabled the union to ignore outside party rivalries and to develop political proposals of its own.

In the early '70s Trentin championed the "council union." It was a new form of union organization, based on the factory councils, that was able to overcome 1948 Cold War political divisions. Trentin had retained

some lessons from his anarchist youth.

But a new sort of anarchism, the "Autonomia" movement, helped wreck the council union by overburdening it with demands deliberately designed to be financially unmeetable and thus "bring down the system."

Things began to fall apart in 1977, when

Bruno Trentin believes that to adapt and survive, labor must broaden its scope from wage questions and make "political" proposals of its own.

Bruno Trentin, the new secretary-general of the General Confederation of Italian Labor.



the radical student movement turned against CGIL leader Lama. The left polarized between the ultralefts tempted by "armed struggle" and "politically responsible" union leaders like Lama preaching the need for austerity to help the Italian economy through the economic crisis.

Trentin has spent most of this divisive decade in the CGIL secretariat, responsible for economic policy and the labor market, in a sort of ivory tower on the fourth floor of the CGIL secretariat in Rome overlooking the Borghese gardens—an office he has decided to keep rather than move into the boss' office on the ground floor.

Cosmopolitan leader: These years of intellectual work have permitted Trentin to make few enemies and continue his accumulation of friends all over the world. He may be the world's most cosmopolitan labor leader. Elegant, friendly, fluent in several languages, the Harvard-educated Trentin is a favorite at international colloquiums, even if his Italian propensity for abstractions can leave more Nordic ears puzzled, if impressed.

Trentin takes over the CGIL at a time when the labor movement in Italy, as everywhere else in the advanced industrial countries, is on the defensive and falling apart. The CGIL is Italy's largest labor confederation, with 4.7 million members (compared to 3.1 million for the CISL and 1.4 million for the UIL). But more than 2 million CGIL members are retired workers—a sign of the drastic shrinking of the organized industrial working class.

Dissatisfaction with unions has led to proliferation of militant base committees ("Cobas"), especially in the public sector, where there are no profits to distribute—a rational argument that impresses the unions more than rank-and-file employees. Cobas have grown with wildcat strikes that paralyze public transport to defend their purchasing power and right to strike.

For the past decade or more, reality has steadily confirmed Trentin's dire predictions that the new composition of the working class would shatter its unity, turning different categories against each other and against the unions.

Trentin's insistence on the union's autonomy from political parties stems precisely from his belief that to adapt and survive, the union must be able to broaden its scope from simple wage questions into social questions—that is, to make "political" proposals of its own.

Now he urges that solidarity could be restored in a new phase of combat for employees' "citizenship rights"—covering such aspects as training, contracts, women's work, representation, environment.

In practice, however, union efforts to broaden out tend to end in agreements interpreted by the base as co-optation of the union by management, ready to trade some bureaucratic privileges for consent to austerity.

Many of Trentin's ideas resemble those promoted by the French Confederation of Democratic Labor (CFDT), whose Secretary-General Edmond Maire just resigned after a long career. The comparison is not encouraging, to say the least. As a think tank, the CFDT has won international prestige, but its influence in France is evaporating. Its membership has plunged to less than 400,000, and as strikes spread the CFDT is present mainly for its denunciations of Com-

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By Merrill Collett

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

THERE'S A NEW FACTOR IN THE LATIN AMERICAN debt equation—Carlos Andres Perez. A left-leaning populist who knows how to churn up a crowd, Perez was elected president of Venezuela December 4 on a pledge to unite Latin America's debtor nations against what he calls "the economic totalitarianism" of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the "paternalism" of the U.S.

The timing is right for such a move. The Reagan years have left a legacy of discontent south of the border. Struggling under a huge foreign debt burden of \$420 billion, Latin American leaders are shaking their fists at Washington like never before.

U.S. bankers helped dig the debt pit and high U.S. interest rates helped keep the Latin American debtors in it, but the Reagan administration left it to the Latins to climb out on their own. The Reagan years have been a lost decade of "de-development"—a time of escalating inflation, falling investment, zero growth and ever-deepening social despair.

At numerous hemispheric conferences, Latin presidents have vowed to fight back by demanding a new deal on the debt, but so far all of their rhetoric has stirred up only paper victories. The missing factor has been leadership. None of the current crop of presidents has been willing to get tough with Uncle Sam, but that leadership vacuum is about to be filled. A new wave of populist politicians has risen up to demand anti-debt action.

Post-debt populists: Cuauhtemoc Cardenas placed a strong second in the Mexican presidential elections this year arguing that debt payments were driving down the economy. Carlos Saul Menem in Argentina and Leonel Brizola in Brazil have become leading presidential candidates by taking similar stands.

Perez, a social democrat, is the first of these "post-debt populists" to take power, but this will not be his first time as president of Venezuela. Now 66, Perez has won re-election after 10 years out of office.

During his first term, 1974-79, Venezuela received billions of dollars in windfall oil profits which Perez invested in huge new aluminum and steel plants and distributed in massive social programs. The flood of petro-profits brought with it a wave of corruption and scandal. Soon after Perez left office he was accused by the ethics committee of his own Democratic Action Party of "moral and administrative responsibility" for a kickback scheme on a refrigerator ship purchased for twice its value and given to landlocked Bolivia. Perez denies any guilt in the affair and says his sole sin was "being extremely popular."

It was partly the memory of the "good old days" of the oil boom years that made Perez so attractive to Venezuelan voters this time around.

"But this time," said economist Gustavo Escobar, "Perez has a huge foreign debt. He has no money in the till, and the price of oil is going to be on the order of \$13 to \$15 [a barrel] for the next five years."

Venezuela's oil will earn about \$7.7 billion this year, down from \$14.8 billion in 1984. Venezuela lives on its oil, and as oil earnings have declined, political problems have emerged.

Venezuela is Latin America's most stable democracy, but in the month before the election a series of violent events raised ques-

Venezuela's new chief vows to be a debt-buster

tions about the country's continuing stability. On October 26 army tanks surrounded the presidential palace while President

LATIN AMERICA

Jaime Lusinchi was out of the country. The army major who ordered out the tanks claimed he was responding to a report, which was later proved false, of a terrorist attack.

Carlos Andres Perez is pledging to unite the region's debtor nations against the U.S. and IMF.

The major has been jailed, but the government has offered no explanation of the tank incident, and rumors abound. The most credible among them is that the tanks were part of an army protest. Middle-ranking officers are unhappy with their declining standard of living.

Army "massacre": Three days after the tank incident an army commando unit re-

ported a bloody encounter near the southern border. The army said it killed 14 Colombian guerrillas, but bereaved villagers insist the dead men were innocent fishermen, not guerrillas. An autopsy shows the men were shot in the back. The press has called it an army "massacre." Two fishermen who survived the attack have taken refuge in the Mexican Embassy in Caracas rather than surrender to an army judge as ordered.

Venezuela, which takes pride in its good human rights record, now has a full-blown human rights case on its hands. Student protests against the army killings have met with police bullets. Even as Perez was closing his election campaign at a huge rally in Caracas, students and police were exchanging blows at the Central University. The students' militant mood springs from more than one incident. Venezuela's present president has cracked down hard on campus dissent.

Students say Venezuela's two-party system has ossified into intolerance. They accuse the current crop of national leaders of advancing their own careers while ignoring the need to deepen Venezuelan democracy by opening up the tightly controlled political parties.

Although students have little hope that Perez will make great changes inside Ven-

ezuela, many of them support his foreign policy. Bernardo Ancidey, president of the National Student Union, said that he expected Perez' foreign policy to be "beneficial" because it will be more "Latin Americanist" and less dependent on the U.S.

Perez says he will lead Venezuela into the Non-Aligned Movement. During his campaign for president, he promised to make "international policy the foundation of national policy." His campaign literature featured prominently his role as a vice president of the Socialist International and a frequent speaker at global gatherings. His message at these meetings is that the financial system set up after World War II at the Bretton Woods conference has put the developing nations in a straitjacket.

Under cover of protecting Bretton Woods, which created the IMF, the industrialized countries pay less and less for Third World commodities, raise tariff barriers against industrial imports and demand growth-stopping debt payments.

The debt is Perez' *bête noire*. He calls it "the greatest threat to our national sovereignty in modern times." Like many Latin American leaders, Perez wants a radical restructuring of his country's foreign debt, which stands at \$33 billion.

Although he hasn't settled on a final bargaining position, he has talked about limiting debt repayments to 20 percent of export earnings, and demanding that creditor banks grant a substantial grace period in which no payments are made, extend debt repayments over a longer period of time and discount the amount of the debt by as much as 50 percent.

Being someone: But Perez wants more than that. He believes that Venezuela's chances of prying a better deal out of the banks require the leverage of a united Latin America, and he intends to be the unifying leader that Latin America has lacked.

Venezuela is the birthplace of South American liberator Simón Bolívar, and some observers believe Perez, a boundlessly ambitious politician, wants to be another Bolívar by uniting Latin America against the U.S.

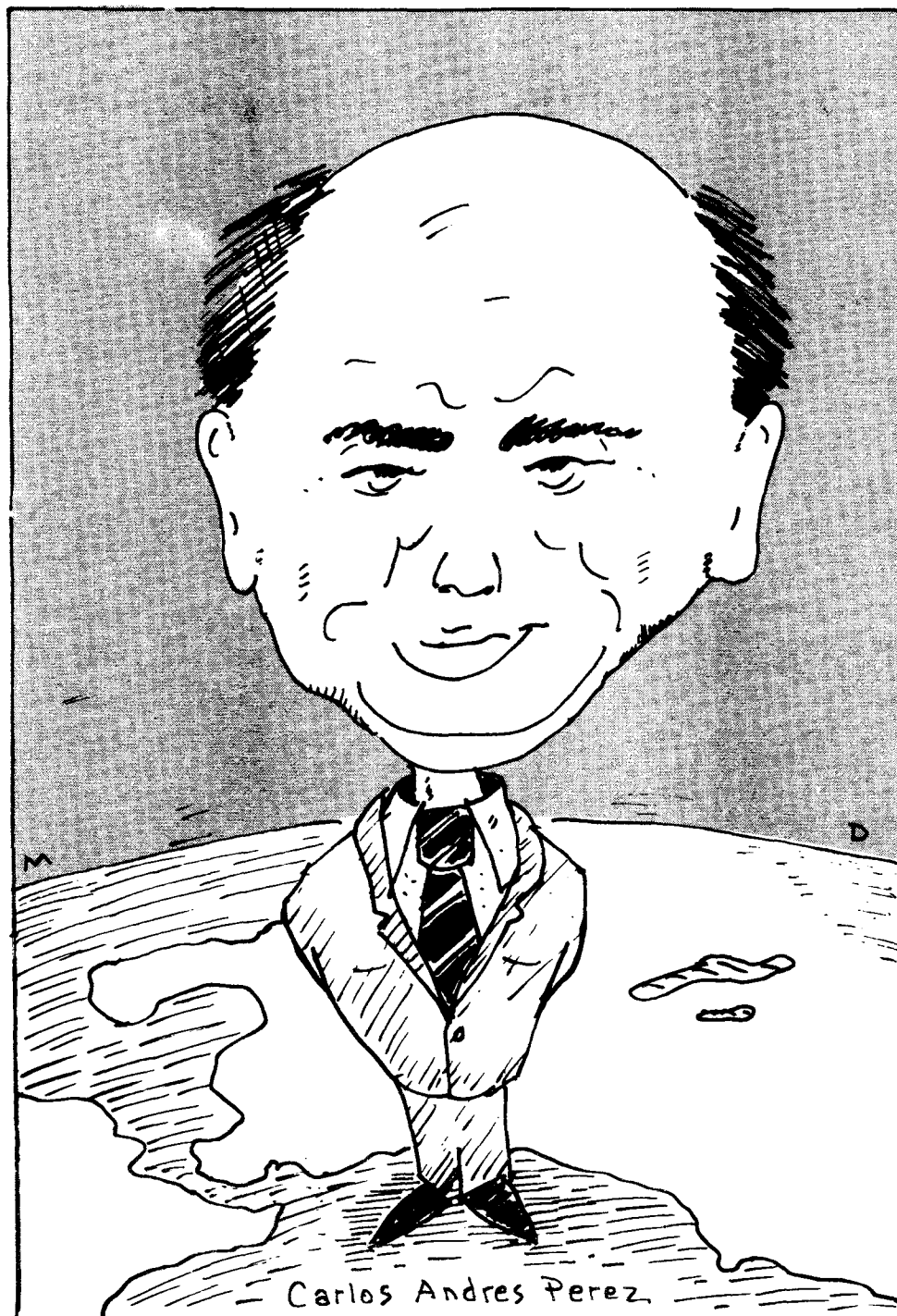
"My ambition is history, to be someone," Perez told an interviewer a week before the election.

Perez is a native of the state of Tachira, an Andean coffee-growing region that has produced all three of Venezuela's 20th-century military dictators. Perez showed that he was cut from the same tough cloth when, as interior minister in the early '60s, he launched a campaign of unflinching repression against Venezuela's Communist Party guerrillas, who were supported by Cuba. That made him anathema to the left, including the Marxists in his own Democratic Action Party (AD). Over the next several years the Marxists split from AD, and Perez himself moved into the leadership of the party's left wing.

As president he established diplomatic relations with Cuba, strongly supported Panamanian Gen. Omar Torrijos in his negotiations to regain the Panama Canal and supplied guns to Nicaragua's Sandinistas without telling his friend, U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

This earned him a bad name with the U.S. State Department, but Perez has since criticized the Sandinistas for abusing democracy. The U.S. ambassador in Caracas, a Reagan appointee, says Washington can now live with Perez.

Merrill Collett is *In These Times'* correspondent in Venezuela.



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Italy

Continued from page 8

munists, whether in the rival (and bigger) CGT or in Poland. Former left sympathizers now refer to the CFBT as a "Vatican agency."

That, at least, is a role unlikely to overtake the CGIL. Its more militant base has prevented CGIL leaders from accepting deals that the CISL and the UIL have signed without difficulty. The most recent split came in mid-November, when the CGIL walked out at the last minute on talks with the Small Business Confederation (CONFAPI) on vocational training and apprenticeship. The CISL and the UIL went ahead and signed an agreement denounced as scandalous by the labor left.

The CONFAPI accord sets up a fund, co-managed with the unions, to which businesses will contribute upward of \$100 for each person hired under a training and apprenticeship contract—an arrangement that al-

lows the employer to pay the "learner" only 70 percent of regular wages. Critics denounced the fund as an incitement to the unions to drum up underpaid short-term "apprentice" labor, with none of the rights and securities provided to regular contract labor.

It was the CGIL deadlock on the CONFAPI accord that directly spurred Pizzinato's resignation.

Progress, not deadlock: Generously, Trentin embraced the outgoing Pizzinato and said he "felt Antonio's failure as my own." Indeed, there appears to be no real policy difference between them—just the plus of Trentin's prestige and charisma. And, it is hoped, his superior intelligence, to turn contradictions into proposals, instead of deadlock.

In his speech of acceptance, Trentin stressed the need for unity both within the CGIL itself and with the CISL and the UIL. Symbol-

ically, he gave his first interview as secretary general jointly to *Unità*, *Avanti!* and *il manifesto*, that is, to the daily newspapers of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the independent left. At least nobody will dismiss Trentin's eventual decisions as mere partisan politics. For the far left, represented by Democrazia Proletaria, however, Trentin's ascension marks a rightward movement, an acceptance by the Communists of Socialist class compromise.

Trentin arouses so many contradictory expectations that he needs to be a magician, as some commentators noted. The daily *La Repubblica* called him "the CGIL's last card."

Trentin's approach can be summarized as getting the base to take over the responsibilities of the summit. There is something Gorbachovian in this aspiration—in the enthusiastic hopes it arouses, and also in the fear that the providential leader may have come too late. □

Drugs

Continued from page 3

\$6 billion to \$10 billion on drug enforcement and only \$2 billion on treatment and education. Rep. Scheuer says, "If there's one thing we know, it's that enforcement doesn't work." Currently the nation provides 250,000 treatment slots for 6.5 million illicit drug users.

The future of reform: Able to attract listeners and a few converts, but unable to produce actual policy changes, the reform movement has stalled for the most part. "In April people were saying, 'Let's talk about legalization,'" says Jon Gettman, the national director of the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML). "But the inertia ended from that discussion with the hearings in September." Gettman believes the debate will cool down in the coming months. President-elect George Bush will get his chance to wage the good war.

Reformers keep their pragmatism handy and await the next refrain of "Why aren't we winning the war on drugs?" They look to state battles, like the one fought by supporters of the Oregon Marijuana Initiative (OMI). In 1986 they got OMI on the state ballot. The proposition, which would have legalized home-growing of marijuana, received 27 percent of the vote.

OMI failed to get the item on the ballot this year because of a court battle over the legality of collecting signatures in shopping malls. The group anticipates no such ballot trouble for 1990, however, and has sweetened the deal for voters by adding language that requires private-use growers to purchase a license for \$50, which could earn the state anywhere from \$2 million to \$10 million, according to OMI chief petitioner Laird Funk. Those figures do not include savings from reduced enforcement.

A recent study by Dr. Tod Mikuriya and Michael Aldrich, two independent drug policy researchers, shows that the state of California saved \$100 million per year after decriminalizing marijuana possession from a felony to a misdemeanor in 1976. During a time of fiscal restraint, drug revenues and savings from reduced enforcement may make decriminalization more popular with lawmakers in Oregon and elsewhere.

For the time being, however, the drug policy debate centers on drug testing. The Supreme Court, which currently has three drug-test cases before it, may ultimately decide if a war on drugs is winnable in a democracy. Government officials contend that drug testing and other such measures—like the limitation of the exclusionary rule and the repeal of federal benefits—are necessary to achieve zero tolerance. They complain of not being allowed to get the job done, while the reformers argue that the end does not justify the means.

The Reagan-Bush administration says it can win the war on drugs. Similarly, some in the Pentagon say they can win a nuclear war. It all depends on what "winning" means. Achieving a drug-free society may be possible, but not without pursuing zero tolerance to totalitarian extremes.

Rep. Scheuer asks, "How far do we want to go? We can step up body searches, including all of those orifices. I don't think we want to do that."

The question "How far?" begs reform, and many more may ask it once they "re-examine" the issue. □

Eric Gravley is a reporter-researcher for *The Nation*.



No Bull.

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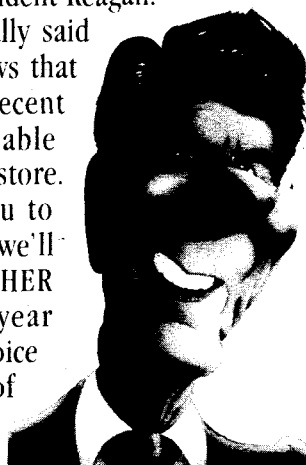
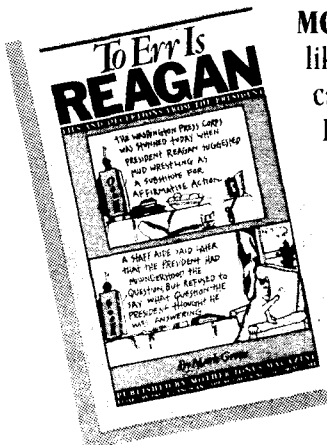
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By Diana Johnstone

A WEEK AFTER SECRETARY OF STATE George Shultz flouted U.S. obligations to the United Nations by barring Yassir Arafat from addressing the General Assembly, European Community (EC) leaders held a summit meeting on the Greek island of Rhodes. Singly, most of the governments criticized or condemned Shultz's cavalier act, some—like Italy—vigorously. But together, as usual, they canceled each other out. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was there as Anglo-American watchdog.

For many years, American administrations, to cut down the annoyance of having to listen to different opinions, have been urging "Europe" (meaning the European Community) to "speak with a single voice." Rhodes was another demonstration that the single voice is silent.

Asked about the visa refusal, French President François Mitterrand did make a personal comment that deserves to remain a classic expression of the Western European propensity to be the U.S.' pet ostrich. "I prefer not to understand it," he said, "for if I understood it, it would lead me to pessimistic conclusions about the future."

In short, everybody understood it all too well. The U.S. is unable to promote a settlement of the Palestinian problem that would bring peace to the Mideast because it is tied hand and foot to its strategic alliance with Israel.

U.S. dependence on Israel was tightened by the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. First of all, as David Ignatius recently explained in the *Washington Post*, the PLO was forced out of Beirut and thus could no longer be of use to the U.S., as it had been up to then, providing intelligence and protection. Second, the U.S. lost its intelligence link to the PLO in the astonishing April 18, 1983, car bomb attack against the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. Amazingly, Shi'ite Islamic militants managed to choose the wing of the embassy where at that very moment the CIA's Mideast desk was meeting. Regional chief Robert C. Ames and 16 other Americans were killed. Ames spoke Arabic and had met with the PLO security chief who protected the U.S. Embassy evacuation in 1976. The car bomb thus eliminated the Americans who had developed contacts with the PLO. The attack made the U.S. more dependent than ever on Israeli intelligence in the Mideast.

A year later, when Ames' successor, William Buckley, was snatched by the pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad, the U.S. turned to Israeli agents for help, leading to the Iranian arms deal. **Crusade or charade?** The refusal by outgoing Secretary of State Shultz to let the State Department fulfill its U.N. obligations by issuing a visa to Yassir Arafat was more than a personal political eccentricity. It marked an ominous revival of the primacy of the "anti-terrorism" crusade over international law or the diplomatic process.

George Shultz, for all his placid manner, was a key early convert to the anti-terrorist crusade launched in 1979 in Jerusalem by the semi-official Israeli "Jonathan Institute." By propagating the notion of a secret Soviet-backed network of "international terrorism" out to "destabilize Western democracy," the Jonathan Institute fed top American officials and journalists with the ideological pretext for a privileged U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance.

At the institute's second conference in Washington in June 1984, Shultz denounced a supposed "league of terror" including such countries as Iran, Syria and Libya, while

The U.S.' ties that blind: Israel and terrorism

Israel's Yitzhak Rabin proposed a sort of counterleague of "governments that accept the principle of fighting terrorism." Three months earlier, in April 1984, President Reagan had signed National Security Decision Directive 138 calling for pre-emptive strikes and reprisal raids against "terrorists"

DIPLOMACY

outside the U.S., thus officially adopting the Israeli approach to national security.

The overt side of the new policy was given its first major trial run in the April 1986 bombing of Libya.

The Israeli-U.S. osmosis in the cause of anti-terrorism corresponded to different but convergent interests. For Israeli leaders, it meant relegating the Palestinian problem, as well as ongoing border disputes between Israel and its Arab neighbors, to the domain of anti-terrorist police actions. It also meant confirming Israel's role as the No. 1 U.S. ally, taking precedence over NATO or anybody else.

For the U.S. military-industrial complex, it provided a new "threat" to take over in case the "Soviet threat" should prove inadequate to justify a global arms buildup. As an enemy, "terrorism" has the advantage of being an invisible and potentially ubiquitous threat. While the very existence of "international terrorism" remains unproven, it is impossible to disprove either. The terrorist scare provides a ringingly moralistic pretext for unilateral military operations throughout the Third World.

The contragate scandal, by disclosing official U.S. arms deals with Iranian "state terrorism," forced the Reagan administration to

come down off its anti-terrorist high horse for a while. Ideology was toned down. The most exposed Reagan administration double-dealers were replaced by establishment pragmatists adept at damage control. The conventional wisdom has it that the Bush administration will continue the pragmatic restoration.

Meanwhile, however, the Democratic candidate has lost the 1988 presidential election. The worst political danger is past. Damage control worked. Ideology could make a comeback.

Outrageous outrage: Shultz had preserved his personal innocence in the contragate affair. He is thus positioned to trigger a moral revival of anti-terrorism. His public manner seems calm and reasonable. Characteristically,

Secretary of State George Shultz' pious campaign against terrorism is in reality part of an ideological cover for secret U.S.-Israeli operations that included contragate.

the U.S. media sought and found only personal, rather than political, motivations for Shultz' surprise refusal to allow the Palestinian leader to address the United Nations in New York. The *New York Times* said Shultz had made "a strong personal statement expressing visceral contempt for terrorism."



The U.S.' refusal to let Yassir Arafat into the country had little to do with "terrorism."

If indeed Shultz' motives were purely personal, then the U.S. is ruled by people who have such contempt for the rest of the world that they allow foreign policy to be directed by whim. That itself is a political statement that is not missed in other countries.

Shultz' fastidious attitude toward terrorism has never prevented him from consorting with Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir, a notorious ex-terrorist. For at least 10 years from the mid-'30s to the mid-'40s, Shamir was a leader in underground groups that bombed Arab civilians and assassinated officials in British-mandate Palestine. Later he worked for Mossad, the Israeli secret service. He got his state and is now respectable.

Arafat has a more modest record and is less demanding as to the state he wants. Arafat and Shamir surely understand each other better than the U.S. understands either, and Shamir's moral outrage is strictly for show, to avoid making peace. Peace can be made only between enemies, not friends.

Shultz barred Arafat on the grounds that he "knows of, condones and lends support to" acts of terrorism, and is therefore a threat to U.S. security. This was a clear provocation to the PLO to drop its peace offensive and return to terrorist outrages—the only language the U.S. understands, at least when spoken by Arabs.

Shultz' refusal of the Arafat visa was a demonstration for the next administration that in spite of contragate, "anti-terrorism" is still an argument that works on behalf of Israel in stalling any accommodation with the Palestinians.

Shultz' success in coming through the contragate scandal politically unscathed, complete with halo of innocence, is almost certainly much more ironic than it appears. This might have been explained by Israeli agent Amiram Nir, if he had completed the revelations he began making to the *Washington Post* before being plane crashed in Mexico last month. Nir was in the process of disclosing that he and Oliver North had been wheeling and dealing with gun-runners and terrorists of various sorts under a secret Israeli-American agreement called the "terms of reference."

Cover operation: The point is, that Shultz' pious campaign against "the league of terror," his Jonathan Institute and other speeches full of moral outrage, are no more nor less than the ideological cover for the secret Israeli-U.S. operations that included contragate. Such purple prose is needed to persuade weak-minded Marine officers or other covert operations recruits that their criminal activities are really a way of saving the world. Shultz fronted for North and Nir. If he doesn't know this, he is as dumb as he acts.

President-elect George Bush and his Secretary of State James Baker face political peril in moving to promote a peace settlement in the Mideast. The conservative pragmatists are credited with wanting to satisfy the Arabs, but they may prove particularly vulnerable to the sort of emotional pressure Shultz showed could be unleashed.

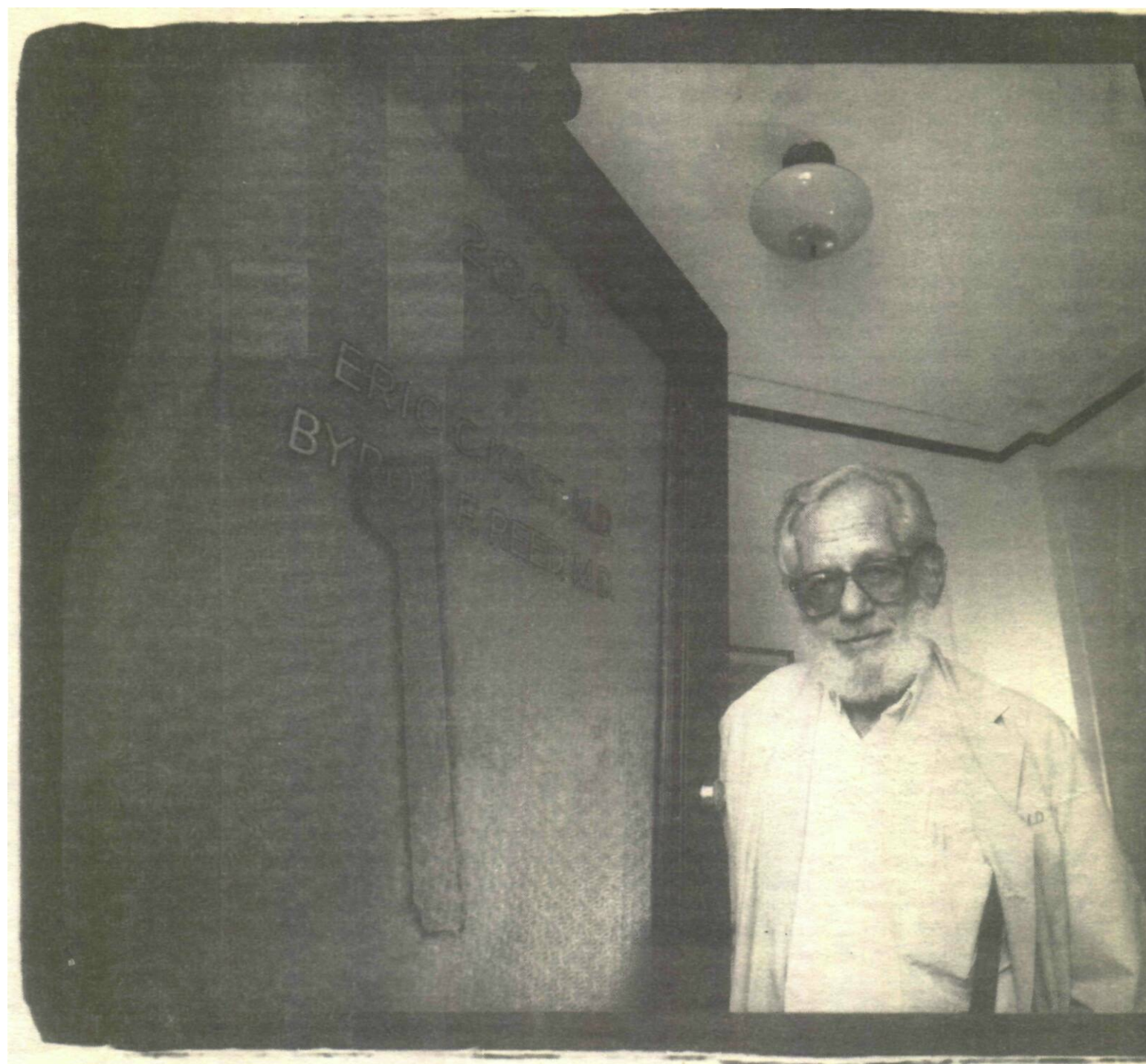
George Bush may have to be especially careful. If it is true, as is widely believed, and as the extreme right French weekly *Minute* has written, that George Bush was in Paris in October 1980 making a deal with Iranians to hold the U.S. Embassy hostages until Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter, the Israeli secret services are almost certain to be in on the secret. It is a secret that, if blown, could at the same time blow up any Mideast initiative the Israelis don't like.

KAST

OF

THOUSANDS

By Robert McClory



The long and winding road of Dr. E

Editor's note: In the newspaper game, a piece that will hold indefinitely is sometimes referred to as an "ever-green." And that's what we thought we had in the story of idiosyncratic do-gooder Dr. Eric Kast. This profile of an inspiring man was relegated to the back burner by the obligations of the uninspiring presidential election. Then, sadly, Dr. Eric Kast died November 28, after a sudden onslaught of cancer. We extend our sympathies to Kast's family, friends and patients, and we extend this article to you. Presenting Kast's story here in past tense gives it a certain poignant resonance, but in the larger sense we still see Kast's spirit as an evergreen.

IN 1930, WHEN ERIC C. KAST WAS 14 YEARS old, a fellow student at his school in Austria asked him, "Are you a Jew?" Kast hesitated, then said, "I, uh, don't think so."

Fifty-eight years later, he still remembered that exchange vividly. It marked the first time he wrestled with the question of his identity. Of course he was not a Jew! He and his parents were dedicated, church-going Lutherans, Viennese Christians in good standing.

Yet Eric Kast also knew that he was a Jew, at least biologically. His Jewish grandfather had been the surgeon general of the Austrian army. His Jewish father was a well-educated civil engineer. But his parents had converted to Christianity years before, and they rarely discussed their ethnic roots. Eric, their only child, attended an aristocratic Christian school in Vienna. There he regularly heard the rumblings of anti-Semitism—a distant thunder that would climax a few years later in the storm of the Holocaust.

Austria in the '30s, especially in its schools, was the acknowledged leader in Jew-baiting throughout the German-speaking world. "Jews were no good," said Kast. "That's all I heard. I felt bad because I could

not handle the tension emotionally. Even now it's hard to talk about it." At school Kast himself suffered no overt discrimination. "The discrimination was all inside," he said. "Me against me!"

So the youth went searching for foundations on which to build his life. When his mother joined the Catholic Church in 1935, Eric converted, too. When a family friend, the editor of a Viennese socialist newspaper, spoke movingly of the plight of the poor, Kast began studying the writings of Karl Marx. He became an active member of socialist youth organizations and Marxist study groups. He stirred a ruckus at his school by speaking out for improved benefits for the low-paid snow shovelers and maintenance men. "I nearly got thrown out," he said. "I wanted the administration to do something about social inequity. They just saw me as a troublemaker."

Memories of Anschluss: His identity problem assumed a special immediacy in 1938, when the German army marched triumphantly into Austria in a bloodless takeover—euphemistically called "the Annexation" (*Anschluss*). By then Kast was 22 and a premed student at the University of Vienna. He remembers standing in the midst of

the cheering crowd that greeted Adolf Hitler as he rode down a main boulevard of the Austrian capital in an open-top limousine.

"I'll admit I felt a thrill myself at the glorious idea of Austria and Germany forming one country, a fatherland," Kast said. "That was something we had always dreamed about."

His parents were less exuberant about the future under the Nazis. As he packed for a brief summer vacation in Italy, they urged him not to come back, to migrate instead to the U.S., where an uncle lived. Regardless of their religious preference, they argued, Jews would not be safe anywhere in Europe.

Eric Kast did come home after his vacation, only to find his parents' fears becoming reality faster than anyone could have predicted.

Sorrowfully, Kast packed up, bade farewell to his parents and friends, and left his homeland—probably, he thought, forever. "I can still remember standing at the railing of the boat and watching the European coastline disappear over the horizon," he said. "I can tell you I wept bitterly."

In the U.S., Kast found refuge and a new stability. With the aid of his uncle, Ludwig Kast, he brought his own parents here before it was too late. Kast settled in Chicago, got



tors, two dentists, and assorted lay volunteers on duty this evening mingled freely with waiting patients as they ushered people in and out of examining rooms.

And when they call it the free clinic, they mean "free."

"No money exchanges hands here," said Barry Cohen, 31, a researcher with the National Cancer Institute who has given one night a week to the clinic for almost six years. "No money whatsoever! There's no pressure to get people in and out, no pressure about paying bills or paying salaries because there aren't any." What the clinic has, said Cohen, is "a pleasant atmosphere and a group of patients who appreciate what they have." Cohen, who is by now skilled in minor medical procedures, said he comes because he doesn't believe the wealthy should monopolize health care, and the clinic embodies a radical shift in another direction.

Dr. Michelle Pearson, a 30-year-old internist at Cook County Hospital, for the last two years has volunteered one night a week. "I've seen a lot of health care environments," she said. "I've seen sliding-scale fees and all that, but I've never seen anything like this."

Another 30-year-old internist, Dr. Lori Soglin, has also been a weekly regular for two years. "I'll tell you why I come," she said. "It's because there's a complete separation of service from payment. Working here is the favorite thing I do, medically, all week. And there's a real community spirit. The people in the neighborhood, the patients themselves, chip in with their time to keep the place going."

At the clinic, patients, former patients, and interested community members volunteer their services, providing carpentry, painting, maintenance, and even much of the scheduling and other paperwork. "We're more like a big family," Carmelita Poole, 30, a local mother of three who works as a receptionist and dental assistant at the clinic two nights a week. "The patients don't even seem to mind waiting, and that's rare from the doctors' offices I've seen."

"Compared to the places I've been, there's no wait at all," said Zetta Pinex, a 64-year-old grandmother under treatment for chronic high blood pressure. "At County [Hospital], I used to come in early in the morning and sit all day long. I mean *all day*. If I have to wait an hour here, that's nothing." When she needed special tests, the clinic arranged her appointment at Michael Reese Hospital. "It went fine," said Pinex. "I ain't seen no kinda bill from the clinic or the hospital, and I guess I won't, either."

The clinic, which has been in full operation since 1982, currently has 6,000 patient visits a year. The volunteer staff includes 35 doctors, six dentists, and about 30 specialists who accept referrals from the clinic, also free of charge. Most of the clientele is from the immediate South Side of Chicago, though some regulars come from as far away as the suburbs of Chicago Heights and Maywood. The primary service area—the inappropriately named "New City" community—includes decaying mansions along West Garfield, overcrowded old apartment buildings, crumbling two-flats, and scores of storefront churches. The per capita income level is among the lowest in the city, the infant mortality rate among the highest.

Moving slowly through the clinic and addressing the patients by name was its founder, sponsor, and head physician, Dr. Eric Kast. With his gray beard, tousled hair, and rumpled medical coat, he had the disheveled

look of a man unconcerned about social convention.

Impossible to ignore was the constant tremor in Kast's right hand and arm. When he was sitting, his right leg shook as well, sometimes causing sympathetic vibrations in chairs and desks. He had had the affliction, a chronic form of Parkinson's disease, for almost 38 years. "It's gradually getting worse all the time," he acknowledged with a kind of cheerful indifference.

"I took a few doses of something for it a long time ago," said Kast, "but drugs interfere with the immediacy of living."

Slow medicine: Of course, the condition interfered somewhat with normal activity. "I can't do intravenous work or even put a cap on a tube," said Kast. "I've had to teach myself to write with my left hand. But that's all right. I refuse to see adversity as a negative thing."

In the bowels of the New City neighborhood, Kast chose to spend his spare time practicing medicine and directing a clinic. And it was always "slow" medicine that he practiced, insisting that his staff of volunteers practice slowly as well. "If someone has a cold or flu, we don't prescribe a drug and send him home," said Kast. "We want to get to know the person. Illnesses, you see, are rarely only physical in origin."

First-time visitors to the clinic were interviewed by Kast for an hour or more. He would inquire in his gently persistent style about their lives, hopes, and frustrations. "We talk about family, religion, sex, personal problems, a whole maze of matters," said Kast. "And I talk about myself, too. It helps, I think, that people see I too am

human. I too am sick, just like they are."

Not everyone opened up to Kast at first, especially those who were accustomed to the assembly-line style of "fast" medicine popular in many clinics. Sometimes it took three or four visits for patients to relax, bare their souls, and perhaps find their bodies responding. Willa Mae Williams, a 47-year-old mother of 10, claimed the clinic is the only place that has been able to control the "high blood" she's suffered from since she was 13. "The people are so kind and interested in you, you feel better before you take the medicine," she said.

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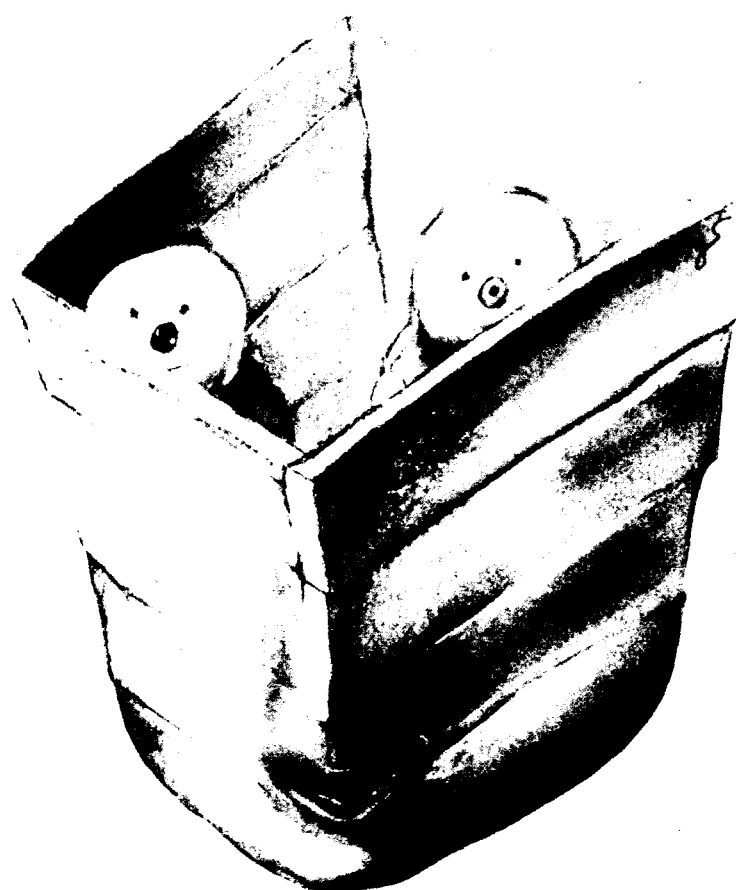


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tors, two dentists, and assorted lay volunteers on duty this evening mingled freely with waiting patients as they ushered people in and out of examining rooms.

And when they call it the free clinic, they mean "free."

"No money exchanges hands here," said Barry Cohen, 31, a researcher with the National Cancer Institute who has given one night a week to the clinic for almost six years. "No money whatsoever! There's no pressure to get people in and out, no pressure about paying bills or paying salaries because there aren't any." What the clinic has, said Cohen, is "a pleasant atmosphere and a group of patients who appreciate what they have." Cohen, who is by now skilled in minor medical procedures, said he comes because he doesn't believe the wealthy should monopolize health care, and the clinic embodies a radical shift in another direction.

Dr. Michelle Pearson, a 30-year-old internist at Cook County Hospital, for the last two years has volunteered one night a week. "I've seen a lot of health care environments," she said. "I've seen sliding-scale fees and all that, but I've never seen anything like this."

Another 30-year-old internist, Dr. Lori Soglin, has also been a weekly regular for two years. "I'll tell you why I come," she said. "It's because there's a complete separation of service from payment. Working here is the favorite thing I do, medically, all week. And there's a real community spirit. The people in the neighborhood, the patients themselves, chip in with their time to keep the place going."

At the clinic, patients, former patients, and interested community members volunteer their services, providing carpentry, painting, maintenance, and even much of the scheduling and other paperwork. "We're more like a big family," Carmelita Poole, 30, a local mother of three who works as a receptionist and dental assistant at the clinic two nights a week. "The patients don't even seem to mind waiting, and that's rare from the doctors' offices I've seen."

"Compared to the places I've been, there's no wait at all," said Zetta Pinex, a 64-year-old grandmother under treatment for chronic high blood pressure. "At County [Hospital], I used to come in early in the morning and sit all day long. I mean *all day*. If I have to wait an hour here, that's nothing." When she needed special tests, the clinic arranged her appointment at Michael Reese Hospital. "It went fine," said Pinex. "I ain't seen no kinda bill from the clinic or the hospital, and I guess I won't, either."

The clinic, which has been in full operation since 1982, currently has 6,000 patient visits a year. The volunteer staff includes 35 doctors, six dentists, and about 30 specialists who accept referrals from the clinic, also free of charge. Most of the clientele is from the immediate South Side of Chicago, though some regulars come from as far away as the suburbs of Chicago Heights and Maywood. The primary service area—the inappropriately named "New City" community—includes decaying mansions along West Garfield, overcrowded old apartment buildings, crumbling two-flats, and scores of storefront churches. The per capita income level is among the lowest in the city, the infant mortality rate among the highest.

Moving slowly through the clinic and addressing the patients by name was its founder, sponsor, and head physician, Dr. Eric Kast. With his gray beard, tousled hair, and rumpled medical coat, he had the disheveled

look of a man unconcerned about social convention.

Impossible to ignore was the constant tremor in Kast's right hand and arm. When he was sitting, his right leg shook as well, sometimes causing sympathetic vibrations in chairs and desks. He had had the affliction, a chronic form of Parkinson's disease, for almost 38 years. "It's gradually getting worse all the time," he acknowledged with a kind of cheerful indifference.

"I took a few doses of something for it a long time ago," said Kast, "but drugs interfere with the immediacy of living."

Slow medicine: Of course, the condition interfered somewhat with normal activity. "I can't do intravenous work or even put a cap on a tube," said Kast. "I've had to teach myself to write with my left hand. But that's all right. I refuse to see adversity as a negative thing."

In the bowels of the New City neighborhood, Kast chose to spend his spare time practicing medicine and directing a clinic. And it was always "slow" medicine that he practiced, insisting that his staff of volunteers practice slowly as well. "If someone has a cold or flu, we don't prescribe a drug and send him home," said Kast. "We want to get to know the person. Illnesses, you see, are rarely only physical in origin."

First-time visitors to the clinic were interviewed by Kast for an hour or more. He would inquire in his gently persistent style about their lives, hopes, and frustrations. "We talk about family, religion, sex, personal problems, a whole maze of matters," said Kast. "And I talk about myself, too. It helps, I think, that people see I too am

human. I too am sick, just like they are."

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Bruce Powell

EDITORIAL



Loyalty to special interests outdoes alleged principle

Conservatives, especially President Reagan, believe deeply in the principle of local self-government and states' rights—and they deplore centralized control and elitist government in Washington. Right? Well, sometimes—but only if it furthers their agenda. If it doesn't, then they subordinate this popular principle to something more basic.

More recently—10 days after the presidential election—the administration did just that. The New York State Public Service Commission had given its final approval to Gov. Mario Cuomo's agree-

ment to abandon the Shoreham nuclear power plant. The nuclear industry and its allies in the White House didn't like this precedent, or a similar one at the Pilgrim nuclear plant in New Hampshire—which was also threatened with permanent shutdown by Massachusetts Gov. Dukakis—so Reagan decreed that the Federal Emergency Management Agency could itself promulgate emergency evacuation plans for those who live near these plants. In other words, states' rights went out the window while the nuclear industry walked in the front door. Governors Cuomo and Dukakis, under heavy popular pressure, had opted for public safety. Reagan opted for the protection of corporate profit—greed—and centralized power.

Not surprisingly, in the light of a series of announcements of other unpopular decisions by the administration just after the November election, this move had been approved by the President's Domestic Policy Council months earlier. Asked about this by the *New York Times*, a White House official, "who spoke on the condition of anonymity," allowed that Reagan's decree "could have been slowed down because of the election."

Even the Constitution bows before ideology

This latest attack on our federal system—and on citizens' rights—was no anomaly for the Reagan administration. Back in 1986, at the height of Reagan's efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government, he wanted to send National Guard units to Honduras for "training exercises." A few governors, among them Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts and Rudy Perpich of Minnesota, objected. They attempted to assert their right to refuse Washington's assumption of control over the Guard, relying on a clause in Section 8 of Article 1 of the Constitution "reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia."

But Reagan was more interested in pursuing his war in Central America than in the Constitution, and with the help of an amendment sponsored by Rep. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D-MS) that was attached to the Defense Authorization Act in August 1986, he got his way. To their great credit, both Dukakis and Perpich then sued to have the 1986 amendment declared unconstitutional. Dukakis lost on

appeal to the 1st U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in October, but last week the 8th Circuit Court upheld Perpich's challenge. Declaring that the Montgomery amendment is unconstitutional, the court said it contravenes the intent of the Constitution's framers, who designed the militia (National Guard) "to serve as a check on the potential abuse of military power by the federal government."

It is true that the Constitution makes the president commander-in-chief of the militia, as well as the Army and Navy, but only when it is "called into the actual service of the United States." This, the court said, the government had not done. Nor did it "demonstrate that the effectiveness of either the national defense or the National Guard would be diminished by adhering to the constitutional principle of basic state control over National Guard forces, absent a declaration of war or national exigency."

The Montgomery amendment violates the plain language of the Constitution, is at odds with declarations of the U.S. Supreme Court and "departs from an unbroken pattern of congressional deference to reserved state authority," the court declared.

For now, the issue remains unsettled. Last week's ruling applies only to the states covered by the 8th Circuit. In those covered by the 1st Circuit, Reagan's law still applies. This means the Supreme Court will probably have to resolve the dispute. How it does will be a test of the Court's commitment to "strict interpretation."

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LETTERS

Graphic feedback

I JUST WANTED TO LET YOU KNOW HOW MUCH I enjoy your art department's work on the cover and back page of *In These Times*. I am a new student of graphic arts and the father of two graphic designers, and it is the highlight of our get-togethers to pull out the old *ITT*s since the last time we met and go over the graphics. I especially liked Peter Hannan's work on the November 16 cover.

Just thought you'd like to know that some of the graphic ideas in the feature articles in some of the weekly papers here in Northern California have been inspired by your work, although you would never recognize them. (Reason: my daughter has worked for many weekly newspapers throughout the area).

Of course, I subscribe to *In These Times* for its political content, but how much more enjoyable it is with your excellent input. Keep up the good work. I am—we are—looking forward to seeing next week's issue.

Erv Knorzer
Oroville, Calif.

Human canaries

IN HER RECENT ARTICLE "SILENT SUMMER" (*ITT*, Nov. 23), Kate Millpointer describes in detail the effects of recent radioactive emissions on several species of birds. She concludes: "Ornithologists generally agree that birds can be regarded as early warning systems for humans because they are extremely sensitive to the environment—like the canary in the coal mine. The miners never knew when poisonous gases were accumulating to dangerous levels. When the canary died, the miners got out. Did birds send a similar message to humanity in the summer of 1986—this time about the dangers of low-level radiation?"

If they did, they are a little late. Many of us have already gotten the message, and have been getting it for the last 40 years. We are the ones who have been diagnosed with "environmental illness," or "multiple chemical sensitivities." We have been reacting with a variety of symptoms, some quite severe, to the more than 70,000 new synthetic chemicals now part of common everyday products. Radiation, radon, asbestos and auto exhaust, all widely publicized, are but a part of our total chemical load, as they are a part of everyone's. We react only because we have gone over our tolerance threshold.

As Rachel Carson expressed it over 25 years ago: "The contamination of our world is not alone a matter of mass spraying; indeed, for most of us this is of no less importance than the innumerable small-scale exposures to which we are subjected day by day, year after year. Like the constant dripping of water that in turn wears away the hardest stone, this birth-to-death contact with dangerous chemicals may in the end prove disastrous.... Lulled by the soft sell and hidden persuader, the average citizen is seldom aware of the deadly materials with which he is surrounding himself; indeed he may not realize he is using them at all."

In short, it is we with environmental illness who are the canaries in the mine—a not-so-distant early warning system. We want our fellow human beings to know that they are indeed in danger from poisonous

gases. It is time for all of us to get out of the chemical miasma we live in.

Lynn Lawson
Human Ecology Action League (HEAL)
Evanston, Ill.

Planning, not genocide

SALIM MUWAKKIL'S STORY ABOUT ABORTION, "Black America's unspoken issue" (*ITT*, Nov. 9), was particularly interesting. The arguments advanced by Nathan and Julia Hares and others—in summary, that abortion is a white tool for black genocide—are frightening because they could hurt black children by increasing the proportion who are born unwanted. They would also saddle more young black women with child rearing responsibilities that make it impossible for them to finish their education and become self-sufficient.

The arguments are not only dangerous, but factually wrong. Abortion has not caused genocide: the black population is steadily growing, from 9.9 percent of the population in 1950 to 12.1 percent in 1984, and it is projected to reach 14.3 percent in 2020. In 1985 pregnant black teenagers were only 76 percent as likely to have an abortion as whites. But surprisingly, there is a little-known grain of truth to what they say: the birthrate among black teenagers has actually been decreasing, from 148 per 1,000 in 1970 to 96 per 1,000 in 1984. Black teenage pregnancy may have become more visible partly because the proportion of mothers who remain unmarried—and lack financial support—has increased from 66 percent in 1970 to 91 percent in 1984. And the birthrate among teenage blacks remains more than twice the rate among whites, as does the infant mortality rate.

The purpose of family planning is not to commit genocide against black people, but to enable black and white women to wait to have a child until they are ready to nurture a child, without destroying their own chance to escape poverty.

Kim Wentz, M.D.
Epidemiologist, Children's Hospital
Seattle, Wash.

Omission

DOUG TURETSKY'S GOOD ROUNDUP OF NEW housing bills (*ITT*, Nov. 9) incorrectly observes that "none of the current bills aims directly at one of the most critical issues facing the nation's low-income housing stock—expiring federal subsidies and use restrictions on privately owned projects built with federal funding."

Title III of Rep. Ron Dellums' "National Housing Act" (HR 4727), based on the Insti-

tute for Policy Studies' "Progressive Housing Program for America," bears the heading "The Subsidized Housing Preservation Act." It provides for permanent mortgage write-downs plus operating subsidies for non-profit projects with defaulted mortgages, and similar benefits for privately owned projects if they are converted to social (non-speculative, non-profit) ownership. Other sections of the title provide for upgrading physically deteriorated projects, grants for conversion to social ownership, enhanced security of tenure and resident control, management by community-based entities and prohibitions against loss of such subsidized housing through demolition or conversion to private, profit-oriented ownership.

The full IPS program is available through me, at IPS, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Chester W. Hartman
Institute for Policy Studies
Washington, D.C.

ACLU

I HAVE ONLY ONE SLIGHT DISAGREEMENT WITH JOHN Judis' sensible analysis of the ACLU (*ITT*, Nov. 9). It does require a perverse stretch of the imagination to construe airport metal scans as generally "unreasonable" searches. Nonetheless Judis does the ACLU an injustice by lumping this error with their stand on the taxation of religious organizations. This form of tax exemption is a disgraceful parody of the principle that "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Given an intrinsically regressive tax system, all tax exemptions are de facto political endorsements of whatever "persons" or entities happen to have amassed the greatest capital. Arguing that generalized religious exemptions are an effective way to reduce the tyranny of the majority is tantamount to arguing that generalized oil exemptions or generalized capital gains tax reductions are an effective way of ensuring freedom of entry into the energy business.

Conversely, arguing that taxation of organized religion is a "prohibition of its free exercise" opens the door to the absurd conclusion that every form of taxation is a violation of the Bill of Rights—for instance, that taxing CBS constitutes an infringement on free speech.

What this example makes plain is that, whatever the theoretical validity of the conventional distinction between "political" and "constitutional" questions, its practice is riddled with elementary logical errors. Clearly there is little hope of resolving such errors legislatively so long as candidates for legislative (and executive) office are encouraged to engage in black propaganda exercises.

By conflating this problem with the question of public safety Judis—not the ACLU—encourages the stupid attitude that the judicial branch should offer no solace for the rationalist minority in the face of a legislative branch deeply tainted via legalized bribery and media conglomeration.

Jonathan McVity
Charlottesville, Va.

Debasement

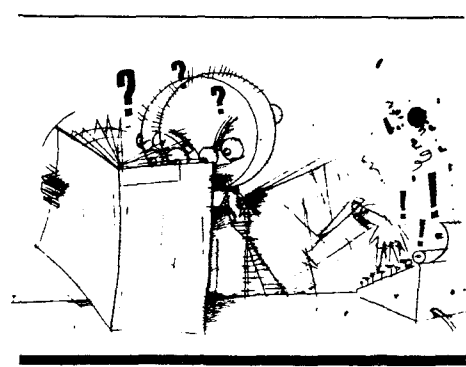
THE PIECE ON THE ACLU BY JOHN JUDIS (*ITT*, NOV. 9) is a pretty good analysis. The lessons he draws are, I believe, quite bad.

It is true, as he says, that the ACLU (and liberals in general) have made a fetish of the Constitution and hopelessly befogged the distinction between juridical and political questions. They rush forth with the holy script held high to fight imperialism, racism, monopoly, male chauvinism and environmental pigs. They debase themselves before the court.

Thus our good friends (and myself) in the ACLU were not wrong to fight the Vietnam War or seek to impeach Richard Nixon. They were right. The error was not political action or commitment, but rather confusing all this with the pale and silent Oracle of 1789. For too long, left-leaning activists have sought comfort in the black-robed seers. Indeed, they had great victories with the judges, while they lost the people. Co-opted by legal fictions, their political vigor was castrated. What they won in the courts (abortion, capital punishment, civil rights) was being squandered at the ballot box.

As James Watt drove the prissy Sierra Club into political action, William Rehnquist may save us (and the ACLU) from the sterile worship of legal mysteries.

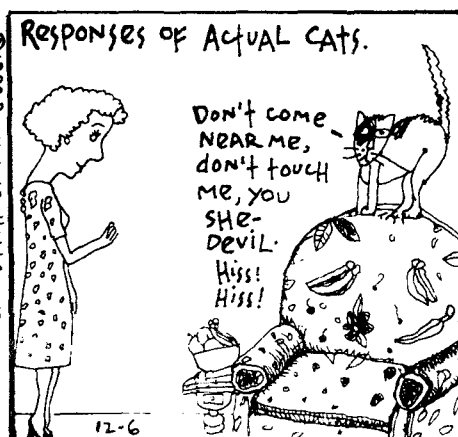
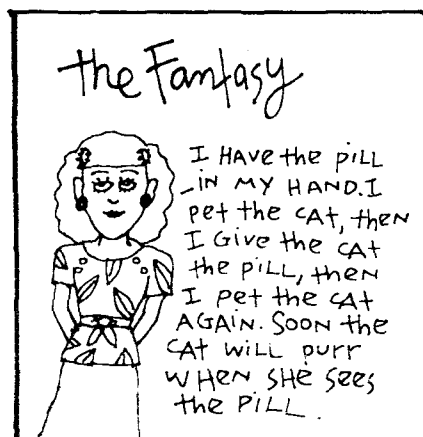
Robert J. Koblitz
Orleans, Mass.



Correction

A headline for the December 7 article about Canada's elections, "A victory for free trade: a loss for social programs," misrepresented Doug Smith's story. In fact, Smith wrote that deficit reduction "could be accomplished without a cut in social programs."

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

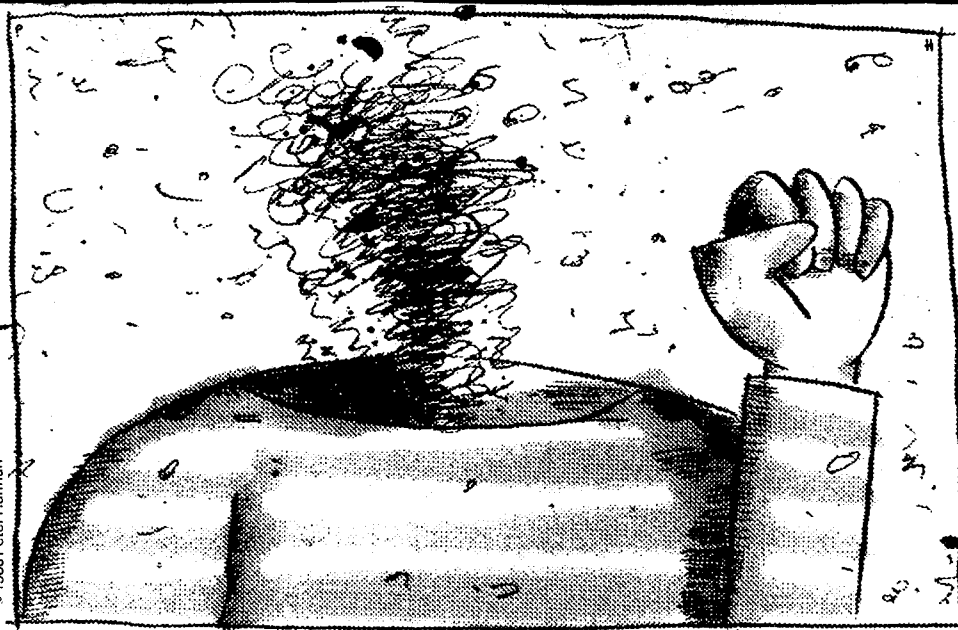


By Stephen Zunes

THE DRUG ISSUE HAS NOT ENDED WITH the presidential campaign. Both liberals and conservatives have exploited the issue for political gain without making a dent in the problem, while the left—except for occasional cries against the hypocrisy of the anti-drug movement—has remained largely silent.

This lack of response is ironic given the American left's strong tradition of opposition to alcohol and drug abuse. From the early feminist movement to the labor struggle, many on the left have maintained that the consumption of mind-altering, unhealthy and addictive substances plays an important role in keeping the working class docile. If oppressed peoples did not numb out their pain through external substances, it was argued, they would be far more likely to take the necessary steps to challenge the system that places them in such miserable circumstances.

Daze of rage: This changed in the '60s with the drug culture and its affiliation with the New Left, which found the Old Left's opposition to substance abuse archaic. Unfortunately, tolerance of drug use made a major contribution to the New Left's downfall, as it sapped the creative energies of organizers, justified legal attacks from authorities and severely damaged the movement's credibility among the general population. Those of the '60s generation who saw drug use as a means of challenging the seriousness and conformity of their elders were not unlike many advocates of the so-



Why has the left abandoned its traditional anti-drug position?

called "sexual revolution," who in the name of overcoming the prudery of the older generation simply increased the exploitation of women.

In addition, many Americans had a hard time understanding why many of those who self-righteously boycotted table grapes and other products had no problems consuming marijuana and cocaine, which leave a trail of exploitation and death from the fields of Latin America to the streets of the U.S.—not to mention liquor and tobacco, which have

been responsible for untold human suffering.

Few people on the left seem to appreciate how alcohol and drugs have become a major factor in the oppression of colonized people. From the Opium War of 1839-1842, when British war ships forced the opium trade on the Chinese, to the introduction of alcohol to the Indians of North America, imperialists have recognized the effectiveness of addictive substances in pacifying an entire population. It is a travesty that St. Patrick's Day is commemorated in the U.S. not as a celebration of the heroic resistance of the Irish people against centuries of foreign occupation and oppression, but as a tiresome re-enactment of the desperate escapism of a colonized people through drunkenness.

Gen. Anastasio Somoza's national guard sold marijuana to Nicaraguan youth as a conscious effort to curb their revolutionary zeal, a major reason for the Sandinistas' tough anti-drug policies and the ease with which the contras have been able to hook up, with apparent U.S. complicity, with the international drug trade. Similarly, the revolutionary government in Laos has been desperately trying to end the connection of

tonio Noriega, who for years remained on the CIA payroll despite his well-known connections with the Medellin drug cartel.

The issue of U.S. complicity is more than simply one of hypocrisy: drugs serve to protect existing institutions from being challenged by popular movements. In one sense, the use of drugs as an escape from reality for a temporary high is simply a logical outgrowth of a capitalist society where we addictively purchase consumer items to temporarily feel better rather than look at what changes in ourselves and in society could bring true meaning to our lives. It is no accident that the U.S., the world's No. 1 consumer society, is the world's No. 1 consumer of drugs.

A broader view: Yet the problem transcends capitalism. Indeed, Eastern European countries have the highest per capita consumption of alcohol in the world. But alcohol purchases in the Gdansk area of Poland declined by an estimated 40 percent during the peak of the Solidarity movement in the early '80s, not just because Solidarity leaders actively discouraged it, but because thousands of Poles, having experienced a total absence of control over their lives in a totalitarian society, were finally able to experience a sense of empowerment.

Similarly, it is no accident that the most disempowered segment of American society—young people—are the heaviest users of alcohol and illicit drugs. Yet despite the proliferation of "drug education" programs, virtually none of them stresses the importance of individuals taking charge of their own lives, since to do so could challenge the very foundations of oppressive society. Without real empowerment, escapism through drugs and alcohol is too tempting for many. As Abbie Hoffman has put it, telling a teenager in this oppressive society to "Just say 'No!'" is like telling a manic depressive to "Just cheer up!" Most young people who can say no, do say no. Yet few people have taken the effort to try to figure out why drugs are so appealing for such a large segment of today's youth.

One revealing episode came in the 1972 TV movie version of *Go Ask Alice*, the published diary of a teenage girl who gets involved in the high school drug culture and eventually dies of an overdose. The original diary noted the oppressive school environment, her authoritarian home situation and the isolation of middle-class life, clearly revealing the escapism that drugs offered. The network movie version sanitized the situation at home and school and made the teenage "drug pushers" the villains.

Taking back the issue: Drug and alcohol abuse is a symptom, not a cause, of society's ills. Punitive laws will not solve the problem. Nothing less than a radical restructuring of society will end the problem. Therefore, only the left is truly capable of addressing the issue in a realistic way. We must reclaim the drug issue, not through self-righteous moralizing, but through articulating the fact that any society in which so many people feel compelled to risk their health and livelihood to escape through alcohol and drugs is a society that is fundamentally flawed. Only in a new society, where people actually have control over their lives, will the drug issue go away.

Stephen Zunes is an assistant professor in the department of politics at Ithaca College.

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Few people on the left in the U.S. seem to appreciate how alcohol and drugs have become a major factor in the oppression of colonized people around the world.

Hmong peasants with the heroin trade, an enterprise set up by the CIA in the '50s.

To this day, there are major political figures and movements in the international drug trade subsidized by the American taxpayer. The U.S. has turned a blind eye toward the alleged involvement of family members of Morocco's King Hassan II and Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, two of the U.S.' strongest allies in the Arab world, in the hashish trade. The U.S.-backed mujahedin in Afghanistan are heavily involved in opium smuggling. And, of course, there is Panamanian leader Gen. Manuel An-

By Martin Oppenheimer

AN IN THESE TIMES EDITORIAL ON NOVEMBER 16 claims that if the socialist mayor of Burlington, Vt., Bernie Sanders, had run in the state's Democratic primary for a U.S. House seat, he would have won it and gone on to be elected to the Congress, without giving up an ounce of his program. Maybe. But to conclude from this pretty unique situation that the Democratic Party "is open to a full range of political views," and that (as the lead editorial of the same date argues) "if there is to be a popular left politics in the United States it will take place within the two-party system" is quite a jump. The recent campaign suggests just the opposite.

It seems that every four years well-intentioned socialists tell us to drop everything and work for some relatively decent candidate for the Democratic nomination, hoping at minimum that the public will get a chance to hear a progressive message. As the primaries go on, the message gets diluted as "our" candidate tries to get more delegates and to develop closer ties to the Democratic machinery. This usually doesn't work and "our" candidate loses anyway. Meanwhile, structures that had been put in place for a longer-term political struggle, like the National Rainbow Coalition, atrophy. Then we are told that no matter how scummy the final nominee is, he's the only chance we have at getting some space to develop left politics in the U.S., and besides, the Democratic Party is where the politically active masses are. By this time "the full range of political views" is long gone, no progressive program at all is under dis-

Forget the Democrats, the left needs its own political structures



Could Jesse Jackson have had more impact as a third-party candidate?

cussion and lots of those "masses" are no longer politically active. Then this candidate loses anyway—and even if he wins, pays no attention to those hard-working socialists who stayed the course. Not since John F. Kennedy read *The Other America*, anyway.

A different game: Now let's play "suppose." Suppose Jesse Jackson, with his Rainbow structure intact, had walked out and run a third-party campaign. He would have gotten pulverized and drawn votes from Michael Dukakis, and George Bush would have won. Probably. However, as we must sadly note, Dukakis, once rid of the black albatross, might have, for all the

wrong reasons, gained some of those white male votes while losing less than half of his black supporters. Lots of people on the left do end up voting for the "lesser evil" of the two major-party candidates. Thousands of Henry Wallace's supporters did just that in 1948 when they cast their votes for Harry Truman. However, fearing the loss of New York, Illinois, etc., Dukakis, like Harry Truman in 1948, would have had to make a serious appeal to left-liberal (including black) voters rather than taking them for granted. His domestic program would have had to become more populist. He might have been able to pull out a repeat of Truman's victory, though that's a long shot.

The Democratic Party is arena offering most hope for the left

By James Weinstein

MARTIN OPPENHEIMER RAISES ISSUES THAT have been debated in the left over the past 40 years, and presumably will continue to be debated for some time to come. We disagree with him on the particulars of his argument, but also, and more importantly, on its framework.

First, the framework. Oppenheimer is correct, in our opinion, in castigating those who every four years immerse themselves in presidential elections by supporting candidates in the Democratic Party. Such an approach naturally leads many frustrated leftists to conclude that since the Democratic Party is not now and never has been "our" party, it would be better to have one of our very own. Then, at least, we could say anything we wanted without regard to the electoral consequences.

Full-time job: But *In These Times* believes that a socialist or generally left politics should not be a quadrennial interlude. It should not focus on the presidency, because a president must govern in a way that does not disrupt the existing system of power and property, namely corporate capitalism. Presidential elections require broad coalitions for success, which—at least for Democrats—means appeals to working people, blacks, women and other traditional constituencies. But there is a clear distinc-

tion between an electoral coalition and the process of governing the nation. As Harvard political scientist Samuel P. Huntington pointed out in 1974, "a broad governing coalition must include key people in Congress, the executive branch and the private establishment." It need "have little relation to the electoral coalition."

Thus, even if the American left helps elect a president through a coalition effort, we can expect little from him unless the left has significant power in the legislative branch of government. No matter how well-intentioned, no president can give much to—or get much for—constituencies that do not have significant numbers of votes in Congress or power in the private institutions of society. The left's private institutions, such as trade unions, environmental groups, consumer advocates and citizen-action groups, cannot come close to matching the power and influence of the corporate establishment, except in the electoral arena. For the left to be effective, therefore, it must be involved in electoral activity on a year-round basis and must participate in a broad movement committed to electing people to legislatures on every level of government.

Oppenheimer's concept of the left is different from *In These Times*'s. He sees the left as "10,000 to 20,000 people trying to educate the American public" about "our"

version of an alternative social system. We see it as a popular movement involved in and concerned with the day-to-day problems of our society.

Dream world: Now some particulars. First, if Jesse Jackson did follow Oppenheimer's advice to run as a third-party (Rainbow) candidate, he would take "less than half his black supporters with him," and certainly less than half his white supporters. How, then, would the Rainbow be able to elect "probably a dozen candidates like Bernie Sanders, most of them black"? Look at the particular districts. Would the Rainbow be able to defeat incumbent black representatives like Ron Dellums (D-CA) or John Conyers (D-MI) or Major Owens (D-NY)—or any of the other 22 black members of Congress? Would it be able to elect a white in any of the left-leaning districts now represented by people like Ted Weiss (D-NY) or Lane Evans (D-IL)? Clearly not.

Second, the Rainbow Coalition was put together by Jackson. Though many of its members have hoped that it would be the basis of a third party, Jackson never had that view. Thus the tension within the Rainbow (see *In These Times*, Dec. 7).

Third, Oppenheimer's implicit premise about why people vote seems wrong to us. He implies that an uncompromising left program is needed to motivate those people who do not bother to vote now. And he correctly characterizes this as an educational effort. But, in general, people do not vote in order to affirm their agreement with their educators. They vote only if they believe there is a reasonable chance of electing someone, even if the odds are against

Finally there would have remained in place a serious national left-oriented, multiracial, third-party structure supported by even a few unions. (That didn't happen in 1948 because it was not intended to happen.) It would have been able to elect to Congress not just one, but probably a dozen candidates like Bernie Sanders, most of them black.

Bad advice: The advice given us by those well-intentioned socialists every four years is, ultimately, pretentious. We are, perhaps, 10,000-20,000 people presumably trying to educate the American public about "the system" and our version(s) of an alternative? That's a tough enough job for that tiny army. Now we're supposed to take on (and, with our liberal friends, take over!) one of the major institutional pillars of the system. In the process, most of our educational agenda goes on the back burner. You can't function as a Democrat and talk socialism, as innumerable radicals in the '30s found out when they joined the New Deal. A Rainbow Party, on the other hand, would be a movement through which socialist ideas might become part of American political discourse once again.

Some socialists have advocated the strategy of trying to "realign" the two-party system so that the Democratic Party will become a quasi-social democratic party. In the frustrating political climate of the past 20 years, many veterans of the New Left have abandoned the streets for the ballot box via the Democratic Party, or the even more modest strategy of voter registration. This is called "realism." I prefer imagination. ■

Martin Oppenheimer is a sociologist at Rutgers University.

it. We agree, of course, that many people don't vote now because the existing candidates do not represent their interests, and that many more would vote for left candidates who did. But this would be true only if the candidates were participating in an arena in which they had a realistic chance of election. For now, that arena seems to be the Democratic Party. ■

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By Jeremiah Creedon

A YEAR AGO ON NOVEMBER 23, TV viewers around Chicago were taken hostage by a video pirate—an illegal broadcaster of televised images. At different times on two local channels that night, a Max Headroom look-alike interrupted the standard lineup with some oddball antics.

Compared to the original Max—that suave ghost-in-the-machine with a cybernetic stutter—this uninvited wanna-be was rather crude. “Max” mumbled. He pulled down his pants. A hand with a flyswatter reached on camera to spank those anonymous nates (which an FCC investigation has yet to apprehend). Then the picture faded, returning viewers to the sci-fi series *Dr. Who*.

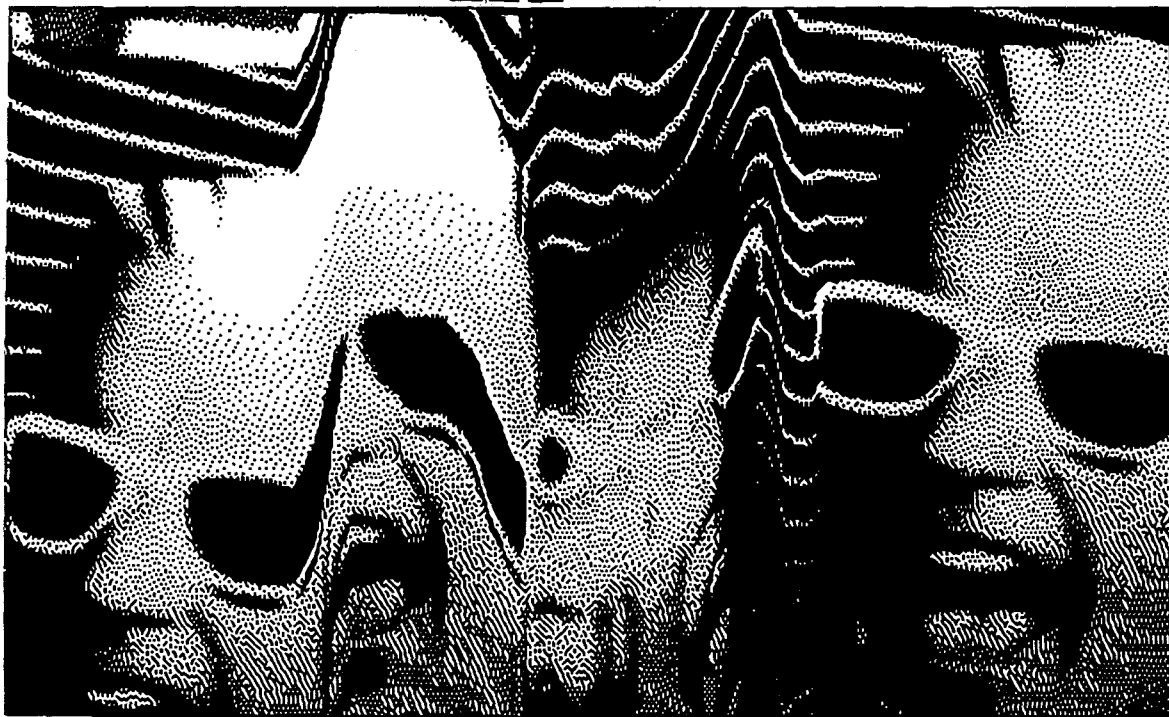
“Max” and company had transmitted their illicit mirages for 116 seconds, bringing the national total for pirated airtime to less than seven minutes. That isn’t much, considering the average TV viewer watches authorized images for seven hours a day, but it has been enough to make an impact on the popular imagination. As a figure whose identity oscillates between folk hero and fringe lunatic, the video pirate reveals something about the American mind—and its relationship to the mass media.

High-tech attacks: Video pirates belong to a wider genus—the technological interloper—that society regards with profound ambivalence. These postmodern renegades include computer hackers and “virus” makers, underground radio operators, phone fraud experts and so forth. They are often just criminals. But as mythic symbols they also triumph over the machines that surveil us, dodging the information nets that entangle most others.

Of all these types, video pirates may be the most intriguing, in part because they are the least likely to be encountered. To succeed, video pirates must beam their signal up to a communications satellite, where it overrides the standard signal and assumes its place on the downlink carom into America’s homes. The Chicago team needed transmitting gear worth maybe half a million dollars to get “Max” inside the system, and he wasn’t there for long. If video pirates ride the beam for more than a minute or so, their hidden transmitters are more easily located.

Judging from the number of actual cases—two—video piracy is barely more than a concept. Even so, it has generated what appears at first to be two contradictory responses: a glorification of video pirates in popular narrative, and a suppression of them in reality. It seems the *idea* of video piracy stirs enough dread and fascination to sustain both impulses, with or without the video pirate’s actual existence.

The official response is quite clear. Social custodians and com-



Pirates sail the American mind

munications executives—who today share overlapping functions—are not amused by these characters. During the ’80s, the country’s growing dependence on satellite networks led many to predict that video piracy could become a major problem. Broadcasters and regulators were quick to define such displays as neither works of prankish American ingenuity nor public art. Video piracy was a serious (even seditious) offense.

By 1985, a year before any act resembling video piracy had occurred, the CIA and others were already regarding the video pirate as a potential “terrorist.” Given the American attitude toward “terrorism,” this wasn’t the semantic company an aspiring pop hero would have chosen to keep.

After midnight: The first *real* video pirate struck in April 1986. The result was a four-and-a-half minute bootleg broadcast on HBO, a written message protesting the cable channel’s decision to start “scrambling” its signal. The 14-word statement was authored by one Captain Midnight, who resented that he could no longer pluck free movies from the air with his home satellite dish. A few months later, after a national manhunt involving the latest surveillance gadgetry, Captain Midnight was brought to justice.

John MacDougall, a part-time technician at a satellite transmitting company in Florida, delivered his gripe over the company’s advanced equipment. MacDougall also ran a home dish dealership that scrambling seemed likely to ruin. HBO’s decision could be seen as an assault of sorts on his business, and most Americans would acknowledge MacDougall’s right to speak out on his own behalf. But to do so where others might actually hear him (and to interrupt *The Falcon and the Snowman* in the process) was more liberty than the courts were willing to allow.

MacDougall pleaded guilty to unauthorized interference, was fined and sentenced to a year of probation. According to *Time* magazine, “Captain Midnight’s much publicized

VIDEO

stunt threw a fright into the communications world. If TV programming could be disrupted, industry executives warned, so could sensitive data transmissions of business, government and the military.”

MacDougall’s property rights, or the theoretical issue of whether anyone really enjoys free speech without access to the modern modes of communication, were not addressed.

The verdict had been swift: the video pirate was a domestic undesirable and a threat to national security. Few entirely believe this, of course—or were expected to. But the rationale at least existed now to look upon the video pirate with new suspicion.

This ambivalence complicated an initial Robin Hood reflex—or empathy for a social type who is officially labeled a deviant. The video pirate was hereafter to be treated like those berserk fans who occasionally dash across the field during a nationally televised ball game. Some sort of mutual agreement had been reached between audience and authority; the camera should look the other way.

It is a strange admission that without the camera certain things in the modern world would not exist.

Prime-time idol: Yet despite these inhibitions—or because of them—video pirates appeared more and more in public fantasy: in cyberpunk science fiction and Hollywood movies and even on television.

The short-lived but highly regarded ABC series *Max Headroom* stylized the video pirate into a prime-time idol. British producer Peter Wagg drew praise from the left for

creating a slick, salable and yet implicitly critical vision of a late-late capitalist dystopia. Wagg’s one stroke of real genius was to set the show “20 minutes into the future.” The distance between acceptable popular fantasy and subversive social criticism could not have been narrowed much more without alienating the conservative American audience.

Banished from the present, video pirates could still thrive in the narrow gap between actuality and the irrelevant future. This conceptual “space” oddly resembled the peculiar “dimension” where fictional video pirates find their haven from a corrupt society. Like *Max Headroom*, these fantasies often start with the premise that television has become a tool for social control, a tool operated by a centralized and deca-

Video pirates epitomize the return of the repressed.

dent political order. But inevitably, a technological interloper turns the medium upon its former masters. Television, the neural network of the social body, also provides sanctuary and avenue for the social pathogen.

For *Max Headroom* and other fictional characters, this ability to live inside the system is the source of their postmodern mystique. But all the talk of cyber-this and cyber-that is a misleading veneer. The video pirate has many antecedents in folklore, as one can see by entertaining a simple idea: modern communications, with its intersecting microwaves and optic fibers, is basically a network of tunnels.

Like tunnels through history, these modern counterparts have acquired more uses than the official ones they were designed for. They convey energy and waste (and now digital

information) but they also take on symbolic importance as the realm of the marginal character. The invisible beam is to the video pirate what the catacombs were to the censored cults in ancient Rome, or what sewers were to the thieves of Paris.

On yet another level, then, the tunnel becomes a storage place for all that a society must repress. Most urban cultures cultivate a mythology of tunnels as a way to vent these potentially explosive vaults, which are filled with the antisocial impulses that prove untenable in reality and yet impossible to fully banish.

The video pirate is the hero of such a myth. Despite the official outcry against them, they will always have sway in the deeper regions of the imagination. Like many mythic figures, the video pirate epitomizes “the return of the repressed,” which always pops up in the strangest places bearing little resemblance to the shunted impulse or desire that generated it.

An economy of flattery: The Freudian analogy could be extended, but enough is enough. The point is, the relationship between the American mass media and their audience is complex—more complex than the anti-authoritarian scenarios of a dozen popular movies would indicate. In popular fantasy, the video pirate’s rebellion against authority is applauded, because his victory is more oedipal than political. In fact, the public identification with this figure may actually shore up the existing order, by resolving certain primal tensions before they can be politically articulated.

The real video pirate is a different matter. As an uninvited participant, an interloper like “Max” in Chicago threatens to upset the ritualized interaction between television and its viewers. This conversation involves many agreements about what should be shown, said, acknowledged, and suppressed. Television is a medium for, among other things, exchanging reassurances, an economy of flattery that the video pirate rudely unbalances.

At a time when this commerce in cultural values seems as shaky as the American economy at large, a few might welcome the video pirate as a symbolic whistle-blower, or even as the agent of wider revolution. But most will never welcome such a figure. It is an odd fact that individual rebellion finds little support in a land that blatantly idealizes individual liberty. Computers and satellites were used in the search for Captain Midnight, an effort that industry executives portrayed as a kind of massive spotlight shined on each American face, one by one. But Captain Midnight’s nemesis turned out to be a regular joe who discovered his identity while eavesdropping in a public area—and turned him in.

Jeremiah Creedon is a writer living in Minneapolis.

By Pat Aufderheide

Living-room screening room: making home video an issue

MORE AND MORE, WE'RE STAYING home to go to the movies. And if kids of all ages are getting their very own cassettes of *E.T.* for Christmas, there's plenty of material out there for grownups.

The challenge is finding it. Don't expect your local video store shelf to showcase the latest evidence that diversity can survive media mega-conglomeration. Video-by-mail catalogues typically shove social-issue, experimental and independently produced videos into a little category called "Other" or "Special Interest." There, you are as likely to find such items as *History of Pornography* and *Lt. Col. Oliver North: His Story* (I draw here from Crystal Music Video's catalogue) as you are *Mother Teresa*.

But increasingly the "special interests" that cover everything that Geraldo Rivera doesn't are getting access to the unusual, the offbeat, and, yes, the left-wing on video. Some video catalogues stretch the boundaries way past the usual fare of action films and safely standard classics. Facets Video (1517 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614), for instance, will sell or rent by mail such varied work as Andy Warhol films, *Native America Speaks*, experimental video art, fairy tales from Africa and left documentaries on Central America. Media Network offers special guides to videos (as well as films and slideshows) on social issues, such as one on the environment produced with Environmental Action, *Green Gems* (Alternative Media Information Center, 121 Fullerton St., 5th fl., NY, NY 10038).

But video production is far ahead of video distribution. Until distribution discovers a stable national market niche, you're likely to be buying rather than renting videos. And the market is still institutional; few are yet available for home-video prices, at under \$100. Most independent producers are still stuck with the fact that sales don't cover the costs of production. With this issue, *In These Times* begins regular coverage of independently produced video that expands the range of expression on social issues with a sampler of recent works. Check with distributors for rental and purchase terms.

South Africa: California Newsreel's Southern Africa Media Center (630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103) has recently released three one-hour videos, the first two made in Zimbabwe and marked by poverty of production circumstances but high professional standards. Both offer an angle on Southern Africa unavailable in mainstream media.

Biko: Breaking the Silence is a companion piece to *Cry Freedom*, but stands on its own. It intersperses scenes from the making of Richard Attenborough's florid

epic on the way black activist Steven Biko changed white journalist Donald Woods' life with information on the black struggle against apartheid. The range of organizations, and of opinions about them, can surprise even someone trying to stay informed about the anti-apartheid movement. But the burden is on the viewer to sort out a conclusion in this loosely organized video.

After the Hunger and the Drought provides a fascinating look past the surface of political life, in interviews with a wide variety of authors in Southern Africa today. Not surprisingly, politics shapes the work of literary artists, but it's not always the politics of the moment. Zimbabwean writer Dumbudzo Marechera (*House of Hunger*), now dead, describes the fierce pressures of colonialism that shaped his self-conscious madness as a student at Oxford and then as a returned exile. Women authors talk about the pressures that keep them from writing in the day-to-day and also challenge them to develop new expression. Issues that range from class privilege to how to capture black African heritage without folkloricizing it, and the social obligation of the African writer infuse these interviews. Routine but competent camera work allows us to see the contradictions that surround the writers and inform their work.

The Cry of Reason features Rev. C.F. Beyers Naude, once a religious leader of the Afrikaaner elite and now a staunch supporter of the anti-apartheid movement. The video movingly captures Naude's dramatic change of perspective, beginning when Naude visited a

group of black miners in their barracks and was appalled by the inhuman conditions. Naude on screen recalls grim conversations with his peers ("They told me, 'If you do this, your whole future will be destroyed'") and anxiety-ridden talks

VIDEO

with his wife. Black leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu comment on his courage, for moving irrevocably out of his culture without the assurance that blacks would welcome his shift. The video unpretentiously and implicitly makes a call to action on the part of people who have much less to lose than Beyers Naude.

Art: New York artist Leon Golub and Chicago's Kartemquin Educational Films (*Taylor Chain I and II; The Last Pullman Car*) may seem like an odd pair, but they're nicely matched in *Golub*, a profile of a socially conscious artist at work. The hour-long film debuted with success at the New York Film Festival. Golub is known for his awkward, sometimes terrifying, gigantic images of the violence of our times. In intensely accurate portraits of mercenaries, death squads and other agents of state violence, he gives the drama that headlines don't catch—not just a human face but all-too-human bodies.

Kartemquin is noted for its use of *cinéma vérité* as a basis for meticulously structured, probing film essays that address social issues from the viewpoint of those most intimately affected by them. *Golub* balances in-studio interviews with the artist as he works with images from the crises he incarnates on canvas (South Africa, Central America, the Iran-contra

scandal) and interviews with gallery goers. Without narration and backed by a haunting musical score, *Golub* (available in both video and film from New Day Films, 853 Broadway, Suite 1210, NY, NY 10003) captures the unity of political and aesthetic energy in Golub's work, and challenges us to see artwork as a process rather than as a commodity.

Covert Action: In *The Secret World of the CIA*, ex-CIA agent John Stockwell—winner of the CIA's Medal of Merit, officer in charge of Tay Ninh province in Vietnam and National Security Council coordinator of the covert war in Angola under Henry Kissinger—gives the audience an understated and devastating armchair tour (from his own study) of his violent 13-year career. His talk helps you understand not just what happens behind the scenes but why people do it.

Perhaps the most interesting element in Stockwell's frank recounting is his early and enduring commitment to principle. Stockwell joined the CIA not as an adventurer

Local video stores don't showcase the diversity of independent video.

but as a patriot concerned about the threats to American democracy. As he raised doubts, he was told that bigger guys had the "big picture." He finally undertook his Angola assignment, he explains, to get the big picture. And when he got it he blew the whistle.

Insight Video (875 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139), an educational

video company specializing in producing videotapes on social issues for the classroom (and selling them at under \$100), has also produced an hour-long lecture by Stephen Jay Gould, *Evolution and Human Equality*, challenging racist notions with the analytical tools of biological science. It will soon release a video that features Barry Commoner discussing the relationship between technology and the environment. Production values are excellent and appropriate to the lecture format.

Labor: In 30 minutes, *Hard Choices* (produced by Daniel Kazimierski, Marion Lipschutz and Peggy Weiss, and narrated by Ernest Borgnine) paints a video picture of life in the wake of shutdown. Rustbowl tragedy hit Midland, PA in 1982, when the Crucible Steel Plant put 5,000 people out of work. More, it took the economic heart out of a community. In this low-tech video, working people of Midland make that loss immediate. A cold eye is cast on job retraining programs that net some workers lower wages at temporary jobs, and interviews with young people echo the despair of unemployed workers in their 50s. The video (available from Marion Lipschutz, Westerleigh Rd., Purchase, NY 10577) does not pretend to propose solutions to the problem it boldly delineates. Instead it is a first-person narrative from the site of economic and emotional disaster.

Locked Out!, an hour-long video produced for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (PO Box 2812, Denver, CO 80201) by Organizing Media Project, tells a gripping story, with the widest-ranging implications for public health and the environment, in the style of a video briefing paper. Clearly partisan and fact-filled, it was made as part of the ongoing organizing effort (and is available at a virtual giveaway price). BASF, one of the largest chemical multinationals in the world, inheritor of I.G. Farben (maker of poison gas in WWI, and whose I.G. Auschwitz wrung profits from concentration camp inmates), has locked out union workers at its Geismar, La., plant for more than four years. The lockout is part of a broad union-busting effort. OCAW has mobilized international support and worked closely with environmental groups. (See *ITT*, Dec. 24, 1986, Jan. 14 and Jan. 20, 1987). The video is chastening in its demonstration of the plant's callous disregard for safety, not only of its workers but of the community now afflicted with high cancer and miscarriage rates. The wider social role of unions is made vividly clear, as is the implacable desire of multinationals like BASF to destroy them. OCAW's fruitful collaboration with environmental and community groups is an important lesson for the future. ■

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Artist Leon Golub being filmed by Gordon Quinn and Jerry Blumenthal.



Making History: The American Left and the American Mind
By Richard Flacks
Columbia University Press
313 pp., \$35.00

By Stewart Burns

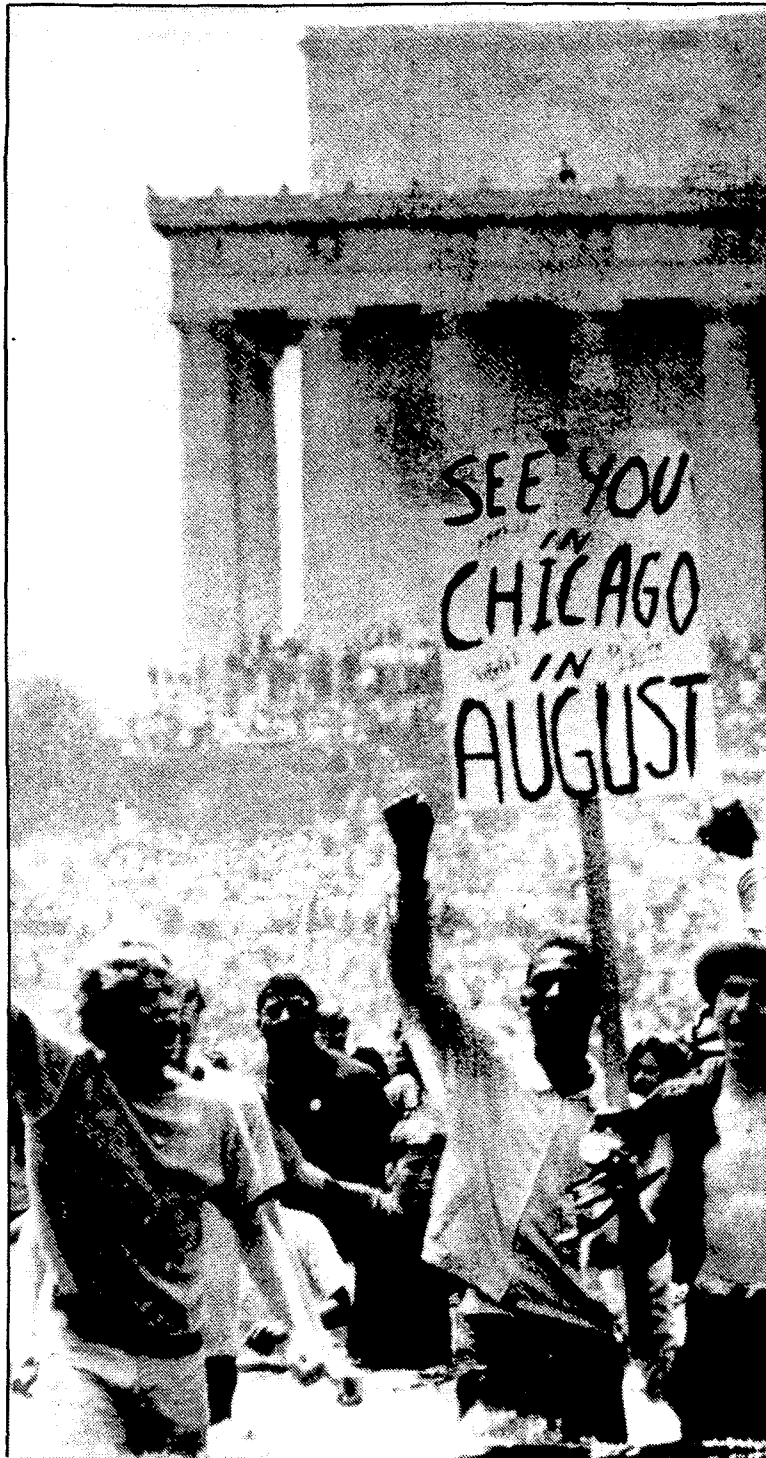
Economic democracy: making history everyday

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? A generation ago the students who founded the American New Left formulated a public philosophy to guide social change. Their ideas were anchored in a new concept of democracy aimed at giving powerless groups the capacity to affect history. The drafters of the well-known Port Huron Statement argued eloquently for participatory democracy as the embodiment of their values and social purpose, as both means and end of political activity. Yet despite many attempts, New Leftists failed to develop their charismatic concept into a full-blown democratic theory. It's a transformation that would require confronting a host of unanswered questions and unresolved tensions, especially concerning strategy and organization. And it would mean figuring out how ordinary people could shape history, continuously, without having it consume their lives.

Sociologist Richard Flacks, one of the authors of the Students for a Democratic Society's (SDS) Port Huron manifesto, has spent much of the past 25 years grappling, both theoretically and practically, with the unfinished business of Port Huron in an effort to help revitalize the "tradition of the left." *Making History* is the harvest of his labor. It comes at the right time, a profound challenge to those who have written off the likelihood of renewed political activity because of the passionate privatism engulfing our era. Flacks shows how the conspicuous commitment to everyday life is not only a source of political apathy, however, but can also provide a meaningful popular participation with unrecognized potential.

Endless oscillation: Flacks argues that the most salient reason for the inadequacy of the American left and of grass-roots activism is the false dichotomy between pursuing one's life and making history. Both paths erroneously assume that people must be pulled out of their immersion in daily needs and wants. Flacks maintains that the widespread participation driving all social movements is motivated either by threats to the stability of one's life or the inability to have one worth living; the former leads to "resistance," the latter to "liberation" struggles. Participants resume their personal lives when the threat has been repulsed, or a decent life has been made possible.

A third path, "a way to break out of the endless oscillation between daily life and history," Flacks calls



democracy: "a social arrangement in which the gap between history and everyday life is permanently closed because society's members achieve the ability to make history (i.e., to influence and decide the terms and conditions of their lives) in and through their everyday lives." This means reshaping institutions and culture not only to make democratic practices routine, but also to "reach beyond localized and particularized definitions of rights toward a universally relevant vision of self-determination."

Flacks contends that the expansion of democracy has been the major contribution of the American left. Even if democratic gains have not been the specific goal of left organizations, or have been eclipsed by other priorities such as organizational growth, aspirations for fuller democracy have implicitly been the defining characteristic of the left tradition. The left has been most ef-

fective in two domains that constitute the deep structure of social democratization: as a cultural force producing cultural, psychological and ethical resources to empower history-making; and in the socialization, not of the economy, but of new generations of grass-roots activists, left-identified or not. Thus the main legacy of SDS and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee in the '60s is the "decentralized diversity of locally based activism" in the next decades.

Much of *Making History* is an argument against the prevailing wisdom that positive social change cannot take place without a strong, relatively centralized organization, a left-oriented party of one type or another. Flacks makes a searching appraisal of previous left organizations (notably the Socialist and Communist parties) and concludes that these structures have often stifled creative grass-roots leadership,

especially when local possibilities conflicted with organizational needs. They "reduced members' freedom without increasing commensurately their capacities to be politically effective." He asserts that the best antidote to "ideological rigidification" is

HISTORY

to move beyond preoccupation with building a single national organization to lead the left. American society is simply "too complex to be effectively defined by a single model or changed by a unitary strategy."

Daily life history: Flacks' strategic vision for revitalizing the left puts movements—not parties—at the center of theory and practice, emphasizing not their disparities, but their common threads. In par-

American society is too complex to be effectively defined by a single model or changed by a unitary strategy.

ticular, he writes, the "theme of democratization is the thread that runs through the history of each of the popular movements and that links each of them to the others. When these movements are viewed as discrete fragments, then each of their gains tends to be viewed as a fragmentary 'procedural reform' that served to dampen, 'coopt,' channel the movement in ways that restored social stability and preserved the established structure of power. But if we focus on the common, unifying theme, framing our understanding of the meaning of the popular movements as if they were all episodes in a narrative of democracy, we would see the gains of particular movements as partial but *culminating* societal and institutional restructurings that do in fact change the relationship between daily life and historical action."

U.S. social movements have performed the task of democratic restructuring that class-based socialist or labor parties have carried out in Europe, and this situation is not likely to change. The challenge is not to fuse many movements into one, but to more effectively coordinate autonomous movements behind a shared program and vision.

What would this shared agenda entail? The chief political goal would be to reform the federal government into a catalyst for social democrati-

zation, an "instrument of community empowerment." Key elements would be full implementation of the Bill of Rights to guarantee free expression and freedom from government harassment, ending militarism and converting the military economy, and providing capital for local community development. This program would complement another vital task: the creation of a left-oriented coalition within the Democratic Party (especially pressing in light of the recent election) to mobilize the electoral clout of diverse movements and promote party realignment. Presumably a broadened Rainbow Coalition could play this role.

Grounds for hope: The fundamental purpose of such proposals is to enhance the possibilities for making history, for exercising power in everyday life. Flacks shows how feminism has taken the lead in this direction but suggests that the door has barely been opened. Whether through "the arts of everyday resistance," asserting rights in all spheres, workplace self-management, cultural expression or in many other ways, people "can take conscious action in their everyday roles and relationships that have historical meaning."

What Flacks does best, besides giving grounds for hope, is to transcend debilitating false dichotomies, weaving together strands of political thought and action usually seen as clashing, such as personal freedom and social responsibility. He places his carefully stitched strategic vision in an illuminating historical and sociological context that enriches his perspective. Though he tries to offer a balanced assessment of past democratic advances, he is less critical than is warranted, insufficiently addressing such problems as cooptation. He also fails to thoroughly support his view that the gains are cumulative and cohesive. He interprets the narrative of democratization so favorably that it is unclear whether he is essentially calling for more of the same, but with more self-consciousness and clarity of purpose, or something qualitatively different.

Many will be heartened by Flacks' unshakable intellectual optimism. *Making History* has a vital message for those in the left tradition who can put their preconceptions aside. It should be very welcome as help in healing the political schizophrenia many of us have experienced being torn between our leftist heads and our movement souls. Flacks' sustained effort to reconcile the left tradition with grass-roots activity and to chart a new vista of democratic possibility may be one of the most fruitful theoretical contributions to authentic American radicalism since the Port Huron meeting where he started his journey. ■

Stewart Burns recently completed an analytical history of American movements in the 1960s.

Sanctuary: A Story of American Conscience and the Law in Collision

By Ann Crittenden
Weidenfeld & Nicolson
410 pp., \$21.95

By Patty Somlo

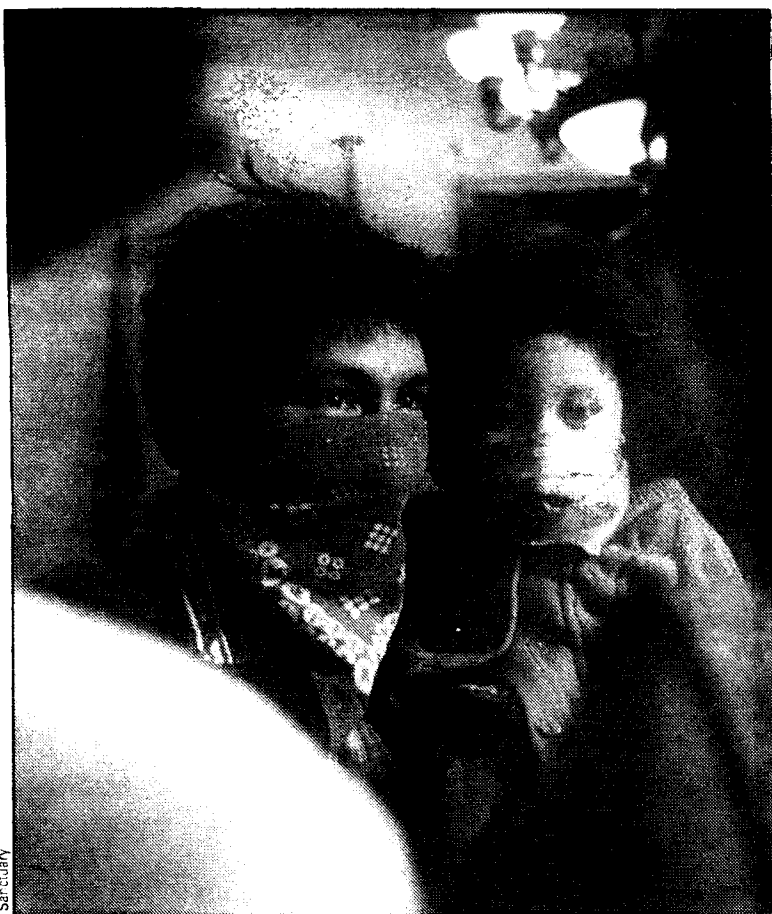
MOST ASTUTE OBSERVERS OF American politics expect the U.S. government to engage in undercover dirty business to silence opposition. Yet, it is still shocking when a heretofore secret operation is revealed and we see just how low the U.S. government will go.

One such low point is documented in Ann Crittenden's *Sanctuary: A Story of American Conscience and the Law in Collision*. While Crittenden provides a good background on the founding, development and struggles of the Sanctuary movement, the book primarily focuses on the U.S. government's infiltration of the movement and the subsequent indictments and trial of some of its key participants.

Crittenden dug deep for every piece of dirt in the government's attempt to silence a powerful part of the Central American movement. Her meticulous research and accessible, fast-paced writing style combine to produce a work that does more than document one case of dirty politics. It also makes clear that the government's effort to spy on and silence the Sanctuary movement is just one piece of a larger foreign and domestic policy.

Government lawlessness: Most important, Crittenden shows that like the kid who owns the football, the U.S. government both makes the rules and changes or disregards them whenever it appears to be losing. From the beginning, the Sanctuary workers contended that the government was breaking U.S. and international laws by denying political asylum to approximately 97 percent of Salvadoran and Guatemalan applicants.

Thwarted each time they tried to



Seeking Sanctuary: Guatemalan refugee Joel Morelos and his daughter Lucy.

U.S. government goes over the line

go through official channels to assist a refugee, one by one the Sanctuary workers made a personal decision to operate outside the law. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) repeatedly violated its own procedures in order to ensure quick deportation of refugees before they could be assisted. Yet the government did not look lightly upon Americans such as Sanctuary movement founders Jim Corbett and John Fife admitting on national television that they were breaking U.S. laws.

Moreover, Crittenden illustrates how the U.S. government was not above bending or breaking its own laws to harass the Sanctuary workers. In doing so, the players on the

government team, including Federal District Judge Earl H. Carroll, who presided over the trial, seemed willing to look the other way.

Though the INS was aware of Sanctuary workers' activities as early as 1981, they also knew the possible political repercussions of cracking down on the movement. In particular they recognized that INS raids on churches would be heavily frowned upon by the public and might even increase support for the Sanctuary movement and the refugees.

As time went on, however, and the Sanctuary movement activities received increasing media coverage, including a six-page *People* magazine spread on Corbett in August

1982, the INS was pressured to take some action. The final straw came in December 1982 when the movement received sympathetic coverage in a *60 Minutes* segment.

Rabid border control: Immediately following the CBS coverage, which, according to Crittenden, "amounted to a powerful critique of American treatment of the Central Americans," the Western regional office of the INS in San Pedro, Calif., sent a wire to the district director

SANCTUARY

in Phoenix ordering him to conduct an investigation into the "alien-smuggling activities" of Corbett.

The case was assigned to James A. Rayburn, a vehemently anti-communist border patrol veteran. According to Crittenden, Rayburn viewed the leaders of the Sanctuary movement as "Marxists" bringing people into the U.S. who "could well be Communist spies." Rayburn was not above bending the law, particularly in regard to regulations governing surveillance and taped bugging, in order to pursue what he viewed as a case involving national security.

Rayburn hired several INS informants to infiltrate the Sanctuary movement. The principal informant, Jesus Cruz, who had a history of smuggling undocumented Mexicans into the U.S., became active in the Sanctuary movement. Almost the entire government case against 11 Sanctuary workers indicted in

The government was not above breaking its own laws to harass the Sanctuary workers.

1985 on various alien-smuggling and conspiracy charges rested on the testimony of Cruz, who, evidence revealed during the trial, was far from a trustworthy fellow. During his testimony, it became clear

that Cruz, a Mexican national did not speak or understand English very well. Nevertheless, the judge did not dispute Cruz' charges against the Sanctuary defendants, even though his information was ostensibly gleaned from Sanctuary meetings conducted entirely in English.

In the pretrial deliberations in October 1985, Judge Carroll ruled that the Sanctuary defendants and their attorneys were prohibited from bringing out any information during the trial related to refugee treatment by INS, violence in Central America or the defendants' reasons for assisting the refugees. Thus the jury was simply being asked to decide whether or not the defendants were involved in smuggling, transporting and otherwise assisting undocumented Central Americans. From that point until sentencing of the defendants, eight of whom were found guilty on May 1, 1986, it was clear that Judge Carroll was on the side of the government and was committed to ensuring victory for the prosecution.

Crittenden's talent as a reporter and writer really shines in her treatment of the trial. She hones down months of tedious and complex testimony and deliberations to preserve the essence of the proceedings as well as the strong emotions that were building up on both sides. Crittenden does a superb job of bringing us right into the courtroom and keeping us on the edge of our seats.

Sanctuary is certainly a powerful indictment of American immigration policies and the U.S. judicial system. It is also a testament to the courage and deep convictions of the thousands of Americans who have continued working in defense of refugees and the undocumented and in opposition to U.S. policies in Central America, despite government harassment and intimidation. ■

Patty Somlo has written about the Sanctuary movement and U.S. government treatment of Central American refugees for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, *America* magazine and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Desperados: Latin Drug Lords, U.S. Lawmen, and the War America Can't Win

By Elaine Shannon
Viking, 499 pp., \$21.95

By Jim Naureckas

ON ONE LEVEL, *DESPERADOS* IS a murder mystery: the victim is Enrique "Kiki" Camarena, a U.S. drug enforcement agent who was kidnapped, tortured and killed in Guadalajara, Mexico. Like the best detective writers, reporter Elaine Shannon presses the investigation until it implicates whole societies: Mexico, whose police forces seem to be almost totally allied with the drug traffickers, as well as the U.S., which acquiesces in the Mexican corruption.

While Shannon provides thumbnail sketches of the drug syndicates of Colombia, Bolivia and other Latin American nations, her focus is on

Policy delusions and the war on drugs

Mexico and the Camarena murder. Her view of the Mexican government is overwhelmingly pessimistic, citing the top-to-bottom buyout of Mexico's police and security forces by drug traffickers.

Her assessment of much of the Reagan administration is scarcely more upbeat. On the drug issue, George Bush comes across as a publicity-mongering poseur, while Ed Meese and his Iran-contra sidekick, Steve Trott, seem to have done everything in the Justice Department's power to take pressure off Mexico on drugs and the Camarena case.

Shannon reports that the Mexican security force most linked to drug

traffic, the Federal Security Directorate, has close ties to the CIA, which

DRUGS

often protected its Mexican equivalent from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). She notes, but does not follow up on, the fact that the DEA was led to a crucial piece

of evidence, a heavily edited tape of Camarena's interrogation, by CIA contacts. She suggests that this tape may have been part of a frame-up run by top Mexican officials.

Towering omissions: *Desperados* teems with fascinating information, but ultimately the book disappoints, because it pulls its punches the same way the U.S. government does. The most glaring oversight is the lack any mention of the well-documented contra-drug connection. But Shannon does go on at length about a supposed link between drug traffickers and leftist guerrillas, before concluding that the evidence is

inconclusive. One can only surmise that she ignores the far more substantial controversy over the contras for political reasons—perhaps because *Time*, her current employer, has made the so-called "freedom fighters" one of its pet projects.

Like many writers of "inside accounts," Shannon sometimes lets herself get too close to her sources, who are largely current and former DEA agents. There is no hint, for example, that the DEA itself might have problems with corruption—the agents come across as latter-day incarnations of the Untouchables.

The book also cops out by not drawing any policy conclusions (see story, page 3). The subtitle is the only place where Shannon really acknowledges that U.S. citizens will not accept the police state necessary to reduce demand, and Latin American countries are not going to eliminate major export crops to satisfy North American morality. ■

George Bush comes across as a publicity monger, while Ed Meese and sidekick Steve Trott seemed intent on taking the pressure off Mexico on the drug issue.

Kast

Continued from page 13

recommend the surgeon's knife, very concerned not to molest nature if possible. He spent a lot of time providing psychic stroking for patients. Eric Kast was one of the few inter-nists I could refer welfare patients to and know they would be accepted and treated gently. And yet he was not a bleeding heart, either. He was practical in his medical decisions."

In fact, Shapiro pointed out, Kast simply did in his practice what all medical students are taught to do theoretically; if he appeared strange, it's partly because he was that rare creature who held to the ideal.

When Kast attended Sunday Mass at his parish church, Saint Thomas the Apostle, he was sometimes moved to tears. The most significant moment for him came just after the consecration of the bread and wine, the symbolic memory of Jesus' death. "Do this in memory of me," said the priest, echoing Jesus' words.

"What we are to do," said Kast, "should be obvious. We are to love our neighbor as ourself, and we are to do so without asking anything in return. That's what the gospel is all about. It's how we are to love and how we are to be saved."

Which sounded very orthodox, until Kast explained just how literally he took those words. It all begins, he said, with self-understanding and self-love. But self-knowledge is frequently elusive, and self-deception can easily lead people down blind alleys. Kast believed that Sigmund Freud, with his discovery of the role of the unconscious, should be regarded as a major ally, not an enemy, in learning to know oneself, and therefore in learning to love oneself. "Yes," he said, as if the point should be evident, "I am a Freudian and a Christian."

Equally compelling was the command to love thy neighbor, a matter Kast seriously pondered most of his life: "I can give someone food or money or stocks and bonds, and it does very little good. He will use it up and be as poor as before. So I looked at the mechanisms which make people poor in the first place. And I came to the conclusion that Karl Marx was correct in his critique of capitalism."

Capitalism, he said, is based on an exchange process. The provider of goods or services expects, indeed he demands, a return for what he offers. The shoemaker, for example, may receive money or chickens or a new hat for the shoes he gives a customer. And his eye is principally on that return, on what he's going to get.

That, insisted Kast (and Marx), contaminates the relationship of the involved parties from the very beginning. The making of the product and the transaction lack love; there is no intrinsic interest in the neighbor. If the seller is a mass producer, then his emphasis is on quantity (making as many objects as possible for sale at as high a price as possible), while the buyer's interest is in quality (getting as useful or long-lasting a product as possible at the lowest price).

"Don't you see?" exclaimed Kast, his whole body now trembling. "We have here an essential contradiction that cannot be resolved. I cannot follow Christ's command and use you as an instrument for my own benefit."

But Marx was a materialist who denied the existence of God and the human soul. He is generally acknowledged as the father of an economic system diametrically opposed to religious values.

That, said Kast patiently, was because Marx

did not go far enough: "He understood how the means of production determine society; he did not inquire where the means of production come from in the first place. He didn't understand the source of the creativity of the human mind or man's quest for the spiritual." Nor does Kast view Marx as the real founder of communism. "He was mainly the critic of a corrupt system," he said. "He didn't propose what was to be done." The development of the communist economic system and the anti-God totalitarian state supporting it, Kast maintained, were the works of Lenin, Stalin, and others who misdirected the Marxist vision.

If the capitalistic exchange process is fatally flawed, what would Kast offer in its place? "Why, love of neighbor," he said. "We should provide services or goods because our fellow



Dr. Eric Kast examining a cell culture in the free clinic he founded in Chicago.

humans need them." The shoemaker should give away the shoes he makes, the baker should hand over his bread, and neither should expect anything in return except the satisfaction of sharing.

But that's crazy, it's impractical, it won't work!

Kast laughed with unrestrained joy. "Of course," he said, "it's inconceivable, it's crazy! The gospel is crazy! We're still very far from the kingdom of God. But just suppose people started to live that way. What if we began to share with one another and loved without counting what we got back? Wouldn't the people we love start to love in return? Wouldn't what we give away in time trickle back to us in some form?"

The first step, he said, is to produce "little germ cells," hints of the kingdom. "Perhaps in time, selfless love will spread and take over, and the self-aggrandizing side of human nature will fade a bit," he said. "Perhaps in another 2,000 years, we will have more germ cells, and the whole idea will seem less crazy. It could happen!"

Katz excused himself to tend to the patients waiting in his own humble germ cell, Saint Basil's free medical clinic.

History of controversy: In 1967, when Kast was still developing his radical approach to life, city health officials appointed him the director of psychiatric services at the Lawndale Mental Health Center. Besides providing traditional treatments, he organized reading groups. Soon he had dozens of young West Side blacks reading Marxist literature and discussing the evils of the capitalist system.

When word of that reached Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, Kast was summarily canned. So he started a small, independent agency to help people pull their lives together, the Lawndale Association for Social Health. Once the program got noticed, the Illinois Division of Vocational Rehabilitation started pouring thousands of dollars into it.

"Well, that ruined the whole thing," said

Kast. "Everything got bureaucratic, so I resigned."

During this period on the West Side, Kast met Fred Hampton, the charismatic young leader of the Illinois Black Panther Party. "I contacted him," said Kast, "and suggested we establish a free medical clinic for poor West Siders." Hampton and his associates liked the idea. In 1969 the Spurgeon Winters Free People's Clinic (named after a slain Panther) was opened in a building at 16th and Springfield; Eric Kast was its medical director.

Like the Panthers' food giveaway program, the clinic bolstered the party's credibility in the community, attracted a lot of media attention and scared the hell out of Daley and other city officials. Kast recruited doctors and scrounged shamelessly from his contacts in

the medical community for donations of supplies and prescription drugs.

Patients flocked in. "It was strictly a Marxist clinic," said Kast. "The emphasis was on making people aware of class struggle, and there was no idea of spirituality whatsoever. But still the poor were being served."

In December 1969, Hampton was shot to death as he slept in the bed of his West Side apartment. Evidence pointed to a planned assassination by a police team orchestrated by Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan. Although subsequent investigations and trials produced no convictions, the killing is still regarded by many West Siders as premeditated murder. If the aim of the raid was to disrupt and scatter the Panther Party, it succeeded. Nevertheless, the free clinic, under Kast's direction, continued in operation until 1971. By then, said Kast, the government-funded Medicaid program had expanded, and the ailing poor were not in such desperate straits. He resumed his private practice downtown on a full-time basis.

Then in 1982, as he saw the Reagan administration slashing social service budgets, Kast grew restless. After a series of false starts, Kast got to Saint Basil's where the pastor offered him the rectory basement. The clinic has flourished there since. A continual stream of small donations and Kast's cooperative network of lay volunteers, medics, and medical suppliers have kept the clinic blissfully free of financial headaches.

Dr. Deborah Willis-Delahaye, director of the two-year-old federally funded New City Health Center (less than a block from Saint Basil's), praised Kast's clinic for the quality of services offered, particularly to the elderly and chronically ill. "They do very well with what they have," she said. "Our relationship with the clinic is excellent. There's no sense of competition. We've even hired some volunteers who've been trained at the clinic."

The Saint Basil's clinic works, said Kast, because it was opened "without a lot of foresight, only with confidence that the Lord would help

us. You know, you can get bogged down in too much planning." Community meetings and advisory boards hold little interest for one whose overriding concern was the immediate needs of his neighbor—and who is planting a germ cell that just might germinate the whole planet—given a thousand years or so.

On the face of it, Kast's disdain for the capitalist system ought to have bankrupted him long ago. In his private practice, he billed patients only once, and he insisted that the bills were "advisory only," not absolute demands for payment. His billing company repeatedly argued that overdue accounts should be turned over to a collection agency, but Kast would have none of that. "The whole question of profits is so silly," he said. "I don't care who's paying and who isn't. It's not important."

Several years ago, as an experiment, he sent personal notes to patients with delinquent accounts. "If you love me sufficiently to want to maintain my present standard of living," he wrote. "I would appreciate some compensation for services." The notes prompted such a flood of checks that he never considered a repeat mailing. In fact, he was somewhat apologetic about being so pushy. "When you love people, when you establish relationships with them, they will love you in return in some way," he said. "There's no reason to worry."

Doctoring for dollars: The one element in today's society that most galled Kast was industrialized medicine. "I am upset," he said, "to see my beloved profession debased—the gross advertising, the commercialization, the competition for profits. Those things can bring me to tears."

He remembered back in the mid-'40s when he and other young doctors in training took their turns in the Mandel Clinic (for outpatients) at Michael Reese. "We were so enthusiastic about our work," he said. "We looked forward to those days. We worked there for nothing, and we loved it because we took pride and joy in an accurate diagnosis, in doing well what we had learned to do."

He added that physicians now feel exploited if they're not paid well: "They equate price with quality care. They need a lot of money as a prestige symbol. They really fear they will be despised by their colleagues if they don't always charge top dollar." Inevitably, Kast returns to his favorite theme—the symbiotic union he's made between Marx and Jesus. "Somehow we must disconnect the profit motive from service of neighbor," he said. "I think that's basic."

Here is the way he put it in an article published in *Chicago Medicine*: "The ministerial aspect of medicine is neglected in the mechanization of the doctor-patient relationship..."

"What is to be done? In no way do I propose a return to the horse-and-buggy days with their impotent and inadequate care and uninformed patients. Even if it were possible, that would negate the benefits derived from the industrialization of medicine. We should produce care for its own sake with love and an open hand and heart. The physician must walk the narrow path between two temptations: the self-satisfaction of the feudal position he or she still enjoys to a certain extent, and the profitability of the business role now offered. We should minister to patients precisely because of our ability to do so, and open our doors to anyone who knocks and not stop our concern and care for our patients when compensation stops." □

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Robert McClory is a staff writer for the *Chicago Reader*, where a version of this article first appeared.

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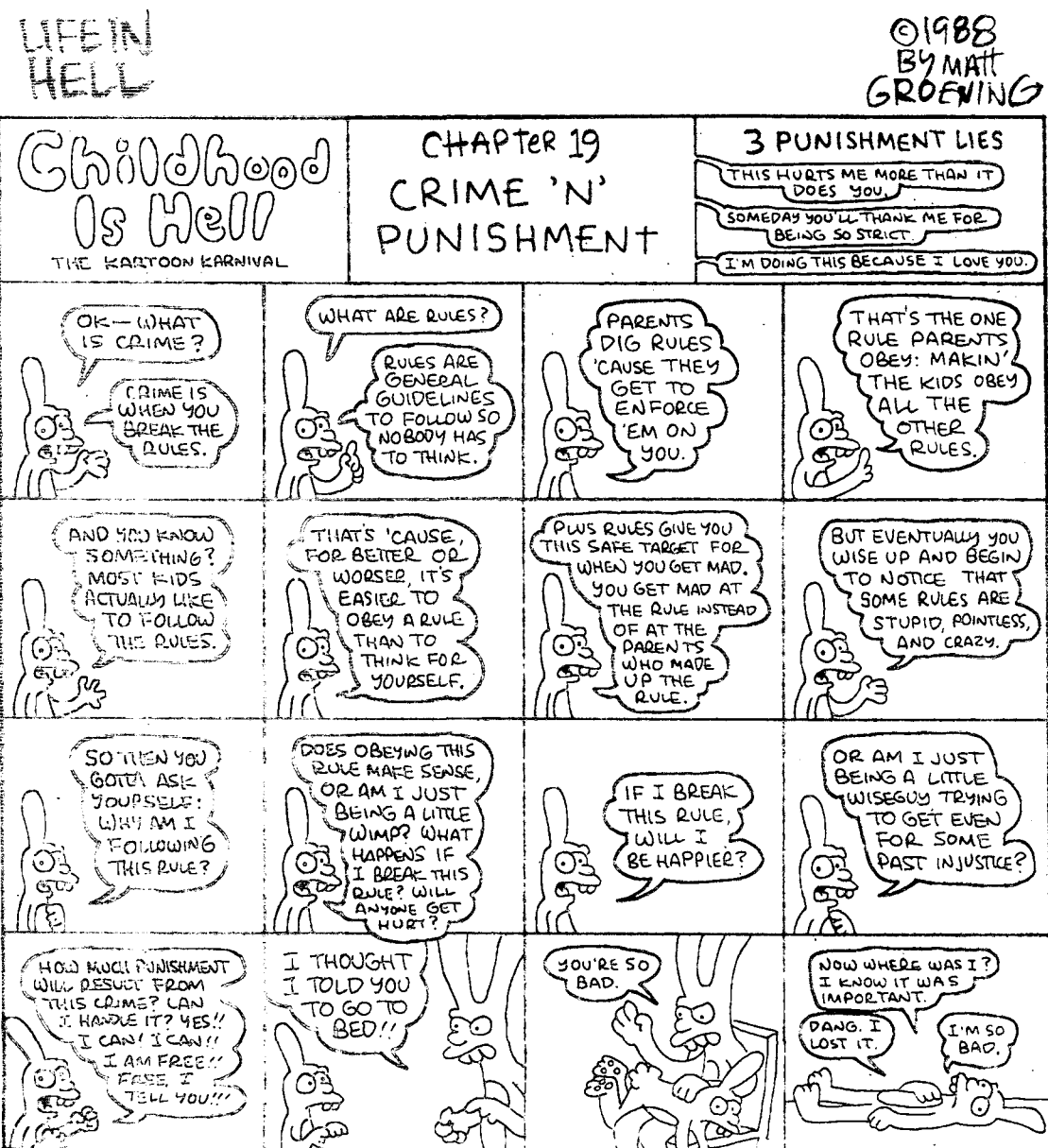
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TRACIN'G CHAPMAN

By Salim Muwakkil

TRACY CHAPMAN'S MUSICAL SUCCESS HAS triggered a lot of extramusical speculation. The mass popularity of this defiantly unadorned, overtly political black woman has many people puzzled. Her eponymous debut album—full of songs about revolution, domestic violence, racial division, misplaced priorities and other items deemed passé in this age of irony and supply-side—was released in April 1988 and so far has sold two million copies. She regularly sells out shows in large venues.

What does Chapman's anomalous popularity say about the *zeitgeist*? Does the success of this dreadlocked black woman make any positive statements about the nature of U.S. race relations? Are her leftist themes catching on despite the political ignominy of the "L-word"? Starving for inspiration during this depressing political season, many on the left see Chapman's popularity as a portent of positive things to come.

One aspect of the Chapman phenomenon that has resisted analysis is her comparative lack of appeal among African-Americans. Despite gaining international acclaim, her name is barely known in most black communities. Chapman easily sold out two shows at New York's Carnegie Hall last month, but she probably couldn't have done the same further uptown at Harlem's

Apollo Theater.

Program directors for most black-oriented radio stations nationwide waited until she was a bona fide hit on the pop charts before even including Chapman's music on their playlists. This is a reversal of the traditional "crossover" process that requires black artists first to prove themselves on the black charts before qualifying for pop-chart ranking. Even the celebrity-hungry black press has given Chapman little play—though her visage has been damn near ubiquitous in the rock press.

It's difficult for some to understand why Chapman is treated with such indifference by the black community. After all, they reason, her success story conforms neatly to the integrationist schemes of the African-American mainstream. If nothing else, she has value as a racial object lesson. What's more, she is one of the few black recording artists whose songs address blacks' crucial concerns.

But to those familiar with the values guiding the so-called "black media establishment," Chapman's shoddy treatment is easily understandable. First of all, her refusal to disguise her racial characteristics—straighten her hair, apply makeup, wear hip-slimming garments—provokes a negative response in those African-Americans who still equate beauty with proximity to Caucasian features. This retrograde tendency was boosted in recent years by pop star Michael Jackson's well-publicized Caucasianiz-

ing surgery.

Cultural incest: Secondly, Chapman has fallen victim to the cultural parochialism that infects so many spheres of African-American life. Although this narrow habit of mind—evolved by slaves to counter the slave masters' threats of cultural annihilation—has become a major hindrance to black progress, it is seldom identified as a problem. Blacks have remained too busy fighting for mainstream access to give much thought to their own cultural prejudices. Nevertheless the history of African-Americans is littered with the damaged psyches and squandered potential of black artists who dared defy the reigning cultural dogmas: musicians like Jimi Hendrix and Joan Armatrading come immediately to mind as victims of this excluding process.

The tendency has been aggravated by the growing prominence of mass media, particularly black radio. That influential medium's reliance on tried-and-true formulas severely limits the range of musical styles available to black audiences and effectively isolates African-Americans from many of the world's musical crosscurrents. This insularity devitalizes African-American culture just as genetic inbreeding undermines a species' biological fitness.

Female posse: Chapman's smoldering contralto conveys a quiet intensity as she sings her well-crafted, modal songs about life in the margins of the American dream. Her repertoire in-

cludes stylings from folk to blues to reggae to soul. Although her eclectic tastes resist categorization, Chapman's roots are located clearly in the pop-folk turf of Armatrading, Bonnie Raitt, Bob Dylan and Odetta.

Her style bucks '80s materialism and glitter, but she is nonetheless part of a discernible trend. Along with Michelle Shocked, Sinead O'Connor, Suzanne Vega and Nanci Griffith, to name a few, Chapman is part of a group of unconventional female singer/songwriters who have crashed stylistic and gender boundaries in the late '80s to get their messages out. And the messages they bear are significantly different from those traditionally delivered by female pop artists.

"In the back streets of America, they kill the dream of America," Chapman sings on "Across the Line," a song about the racial polarization of violence. These days, the dream is being killed on some front streets as well, and there is growing evidence of increased racial polarization. Chapman's widespread popularity sparks hopes that we may not be as far apart as we think. It's a hope similar to that triggered by Jesse Jackson's win in Michigan's Democratic caucus.

I welcome this sister's unlikely popularity as a reason for optimism. Perhaps that's asking too much of a pop phenomenon, but I'll take my optimism where I find it. ■

